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Vol. IX
No. 3 1973

THE EAST

COVER

If someone were to ask you which flower or tree is sung in more poems in the *Manyō-shū*—the first anthology of pure Japanese poetry—you would probably never guess it. Not the plum, which is second with 110 or the pine which comes third, appearing in 70 poems. Nor the cherry (42), wisteria (21) or peach (only seven). The unlikely choice is an unprepossessing bush that puts out lovely reddish-purple blooms in late summer or early autumn.

so long have I waited
for fall to come
and fall has come
yet still not quite, and still I wait
the hagi has not bloomed

One of the "seven autumn grasses," men and women used to put hagi in their hair, and lovers exchanged sprigs of this most typical wild flower in demonstrations of their affection.

as gentle summer winds
take on an autumn chill
I would go to wild fields
to range my horse beside your own
to see the hagi blossoms

Hagi is a kind of lespedeza. It has been assigned the Chinese character 萩, a combination of autumn (秋) and the radical developed from 艸 which means "grass," indicating that the item in question belongs to the classification flora. The Japanese word *hagi*, however, according to the *Daigenkai* 大言海, the most authoritative dictionary, derives from *haegi* meaning "emerging buds." The tiny buds emerge mysteriously every year from the bald roots of the perennial. Another dictionary suggests that the tiny leaves look like teeth (*ha*) on the tree (*ki*).

Hagi has the distinction of having inspired some of the loveliest family crests and of having been adopted for its beauty alone and not like most themes, for any particular connotations. The Sugiwara and Yoshikawa chose varieties of the hagi crest, while hagi designs appear on boxes and furniture from as early as the Kamakura Period to call up the feeling of the autumn season.

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The Latter Days of the Shogunate

1853 Commodore Perry's black ships visit Japan

1854 Treaties of amity signed with the United States, England and Russia

1855 Treaties signed with France and Holland

1858 Treaty of Amity and Commerce signed with the US

1860 Katsu Kaishu sails on the Kanrin-maru on the first Japanese mission to America

Ii Naosuke cut down at Sakurada Mon

1862 English traders attacked by Satsuma samurai at Namamugi, one killed, two wounded

1863 Satsuma fights with England

1864 Allied forces of England, the US, France and Holland send punitive expedition to Shimonoseki and do battle with Chōshū

1867 Restoration of rule to the Emperor

1868 Edo Castle surrendered to New Government forces; Meiji Restoration concluded

A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

If you have recently travelled along the coast of the islands of Japan, you could not help but be struck by the extensive excavations and reclamation of land now taking place all over. Mountains and hills are being levelled or gouged out, and in the course of this extensive "geological surgery", a tremendous number of things which have long remained in undisturbed obscurity underground are being uncovered. Newspapers are busy reporting the endless new discoveries of old relics and vestiges.

The precious finds are brought to specialists for investigation and scrutinization, and are classified as new archaeological data. Some of them have proved of such great significance that they have revised ancient history in Japan. Archaeologists and ancient historians say they have never been busier.

The ancient in Japan has long been too much in the dark until recently, harboring too many contradictions. And such new discoveries are attracting not just archaeological specialists but also the curious minds of the general public as well, as more and more amateurs have their interest aroused in solving the riddles of the past.

Historians in Japan, now allowed under the new democracy to discuss openly all the scientific aspects of the history of the nation (unlike the pre-war historians who were punished for "injuring the dignity of the Imperial History"), have now brought about "a boom of the ancient." Their publications are being issued in great numbers, and new history journals are selling rapidly.

One historical subject which past historians neglected and which has newly attracted the attention of historians is the relation between the islands of Japan and the peninsula of Korea.

The people and the culture now thriving on these islands have come to exist as they are through some characteristic process of formation, which might be termed a "historical polymerization" of cultures. Several races and cultures have drifted here and, having no further to go, have stayed on to form layer on layer, these layers gradually blending into one another to achieve an unusual uniformity—the culture we see here today. In order to analytically trace the sources of all these by unveiling layer after layer, archaeological research must be conducted on a global scale.

We have taken up the story of one enterprising amateur archaeologist in this issue. Eventually we hope to introduce to you the story of ancient history in Japan.

A Notice to Potential Contributors

We welcome contributions from our readers and have been receiving quite a few, but we have had to turn many well-written ones down. We would find it easier to use articies which say something that only you can say—your experiences in Asia as a foreigner, your critical observations on Japanese society, interpersonal relations, customs and culture. It is the job of our staff to introduce various aspects of Japan and Asia, and the content of successive issues is decided fairly far in advance. Your individual way of looking at things will make the best contribution.

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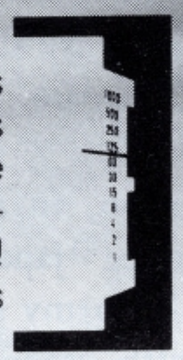

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Respected Editors

THE EAST magazine is extremely interesting and colorful. I eagerly await each issue.

It has been a great source of information for me. (jibun hitori de benkyo shimashita—sensei wa arimasen)

I have studied some Japanese at C.W. Post College in Greenvale, L.I., N.Y.—where my husband is the Dean of the School of Business. The interest locally in learning Japanese has been very great. The Mineola Memorial Library, therefore, asked me to form an adult student group and teach them: —even though my knowledge is so very limited . . . (anmari yasashiku arimasen ne!)

The program was a great success and I gave great encouragement to the people to learn about Japan. We practiced easy things, such as "Konnichiwa" and Domo arigato Gozaimasu, "Kyo wa . . ." "O genki desu ka?"

I wrote the lessons myself, and xeroxed copies for them. Your magazine was invaluable for all the background. We discussed festivals, holidays, history—and most of the information was gleaned from your splendid magazine! East wa subarashii desu!

Domo arigato gozai mashita! Minna ni Yoroshiku!

As an afterthought, it occurred, to me that you might be interested to know that one of the students in the Adult Class of "Beginning Japanese Conversation," was Mr. Tallman Ladd. He is the grandson of Dr. George Trumbull Ladd, great friend of Emperor Meiji; mentor and advisor to the first Prime Minister, Ito Hirobumi; teacher, also, to the young Prince. He received many honors from Emperor Meiji and Dr. Ladd is buried in a shrine about 20 miles south of Tokyo, I believe.

Perhaps an article about Dr. Ladd could be included in some future issue? As for my own father—he was a Polish count who belonged to Marshall Pitsudski's secret insurrectionist group. In 1904, Pitsudski travelled to Tokyo and formed a pact with the government to impede Russian progress. On one of the missions, my father's group was captured. One brother was killed; the other sent to Siberia. Only my father escaped—and was smuggled out of the country. His parents were killed and property was confiscated. Later, in this country he became the Polish Consul, but resigned in the early 1930's when Communists were slowly infiltrating into the Consulate. He, too, was a friend to Japan.

I would like to mention, in addition, that I plan to introduce "Japanese Language and Culture" into my son's school. He is in the fifth grade, 10 years, and I have volunteered to devote three class sessions, each, to the fifth, fourth and third grades. I hope to teach them a few words and interest them in the story of "Kubla Khan and the Divine Wind" and show them how easy it is to bow and say,
"Kashikomari mashita."

Of course, the adult group has, also, been voluntary.

Hopefully, we may visit Japan in March or early April. Perhaps I may have the privilege of visiting your office?

Incidentally is there a Japanese Language School I could attend for about a week?

Anyhow, I enjoy the "East" and I love the Japanese language. I am looking forward to meeting the people I already like!

With all good wishes,
Sincerely
Mrs. Armand J. Prusmack
26 Hicks Lane
Old Westbury, L.I.
New York U S A

Ungulata

"You know, animals with cloven hoofs are faster than those without. Rhinos have cloven hoofs and they run on top of the water. They're really something.

"But what about horses? Their hoofs aren't cloven and they run fast."

"The only reason people can ride on horses is because horses' hoofs are solid. Give horses cloven hoofs and they'll be flying so fast no one can stay on their backs."

"All right, what about cows? They have cloven hoofs and look how slow they are."

"Cows? It's a good thing cows do have cloven hoofs. If they didn't they'd never even be able to move."

(from *Edo Kobanashi*)

INFORMATION BOX

Q

Dear Sir:

I am one of your ardent readers who eagerly awaits each volume. Your magazine brings me ever so close to a land that has always been close to my heart, even though it has been 22 years since I left Japanese shores.

I have just finished reading the Nov.-Dec. 1972 edition of "The East." The articles "The Many Facets of Mt. Fuji" and "Green, green summer of the Aizu Valley . . ." were absolutely the finest and most beautiful. The photography in both articles was superb.

Could you at some date have an article on:

1) Japanese sports
2) Ex-premier Kishi who, in my opinion was the greatest Prime Minister Japan ever had.
3) Meiji-yama, who was the greatest sumo wrestler in Japan

Is ex-premier Kishi still alive? Do you have the address of Meiji-yama?

Am eagerly awaiting your reply.

Gratefully yours,
Milton R. Plasner
Satellite Beach, Fla., USA

A

At 76, ex-premier Kishi is still alive and well. He lives in Tokyo and acts in the capacity of unofficial advisor to the Liberal-Democratic Party (Jimin-to).

We have checked with the Japan Sumo Wrestlers' Association but they have no record of a wrestler named Meiji-(Meidi-) yama. Perhaps the spelling is different? If you write again we will be glad to investigate.

Advances Against Schizophrenia

THE CAUSE OF schizophrenia has long evaded definition despite perseverant efforts by researchers throughout the world, but Dr. Miyakawa Tahei of the Kumamoto University Medical School's Department of Neurology recently discovered an abnormal condition in the frontal lobe of the brain of several schizophrenic patients that may very well be it.

Researchers on schizophrenia have long been divided into two schools of thought on the origins of the disease, one maintaining that it arises from some abnormality in the brain and the other seeking the cause elsewhere; neither has been successful in proving their case. The commonly accepted opinion as set forth by the international symposium on nervous diseases ten years ago in Rome is that "we do not recognize any aberrations in the brain."

Dr. Miyakawa, however, has persisted in the supposition that schizophrenia is a disturbance resulting to the brain network, and four years ago he began examining the brain cells of schizophrenic patients with an electron microscope.

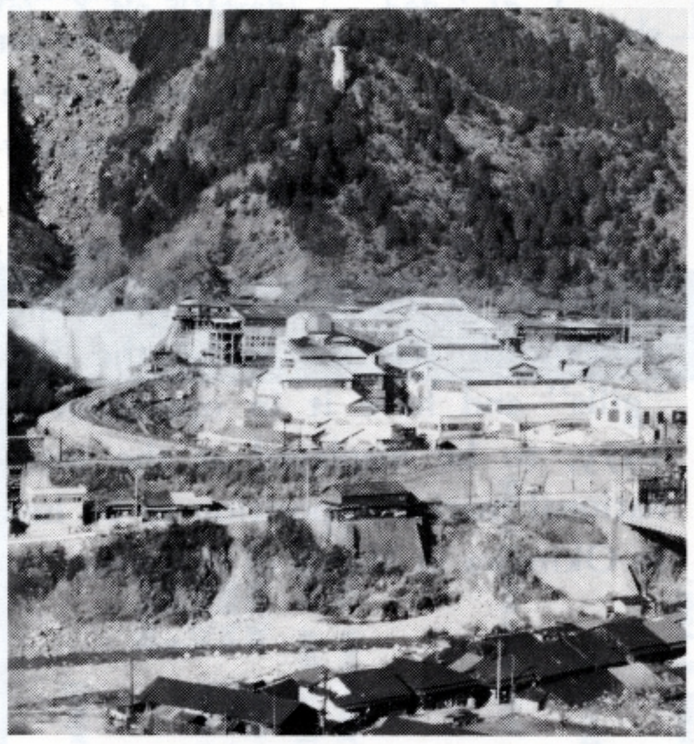
His examination brought to light numerous grains surrounding the axons in the frontal lobes of five patients. The axons relay excitement from the brain to the body.

Dr. Miyakawa chose as subjects five patients who had not been treated with medicines and compared their frontal lobes with those of four sufferers from brain disorders other than schizophrenia. Only the schizophrenics had the many tiny black granules in the spaces in the myelin sheath, which covers the axons and prevents the nerve impulses from escaping. If Dr. Miyakawa's hypothesis is correct, these granules press upon the axons and interfere with the passage of the nerve impulses so that "the patient's nerves close themselves off and cut him off from intercourse with other people."

Ordinarily, when a foreign substance enters the myelin, cells called oligodendroglia take care of it just as white corpuscles eat bacteria that enter the bloodstream. But the oligodendroglia seem to be powerless to remove the granules manifested in the nerves of schizophrenics.

Of course it is impossible to draw any real conclusions on the basis of examination of just a few patients but this new discovery may put other researchers on the path of seeking physical causes for the disease and could have a very large significance. We await further analysis of the nature of the granules and of the mechanism whereby they are produced, and we can look forward optimistically to the day when schizophrenia becomes a curable disease.

A Fallen Bastion of Pollution



JAPAN'S FIRST and abiding citadel of pollution has fallen. As of April, 1973, the Ashio Copper Mine in Ashio, Tochigi Prefecture will bring an end to "a hundred years of pollution" and close down. Readers who recall the story of Tanaka Shōzō ("The 19th Century Prophet of Pollution," Vol. VII No. 6) will understand why the name of the Ashio Mine is practically synonymous with industrial pollution.

After veins of copper were discovered in 1610 during the reign of the second Tokugawa Shogun Hidetada, the mine became the property of the Shogunate which oversaw its excavation and it was duly turned over to the New Government at the time of the Meiji Restoration. Then in 1877, the founder of the Furukawa Zaibatsu, Furukawa Ichibei, bought it up. Forty thousand men were soon taking copper out of the mine, which prided itself on being Japan's biggest copper producer.

Nothing lasts forever though, and in recent years the majority of copper ore refined at the Ashio refining plant has come from overseas. The yield dropped to a bare 400 tons per year. The closing of the mine became only a question of time.

A Request to Our Readers

Because THE EAST is sent to you directly from Japan, we need to be notified of your **change of address** in plenty of time so that you won't miss a copy.

The mailmen do their best, but sometimes shipments are unavoidably delayed for as much as several weeks, and sometimes, though rarely, a package may go astray between the docks of Yokohama and Europe or San Francisco Bay.

If it should happen that you **miss an issue**, please notify our Subscription Department and we will try to trace the copy or send you a replacement.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

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Minato-ku, Tokyo
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The upward revaluation of the yen rate the year before last forced all but the steel mines out of the running in Japan and famous large mines have been boarding up their shafts one after another. Furukawa's operation has been sticking it out to save their reputation but even that has become unfeasible. Only the refinery will continue to function, using imported ores.

Gills for the Gill-less

Ah, if we humans could but live like fish beneath the sea. . . . Just as man has continually dreamed of going up, up mountains, up into the air, up into space, so he yearns to go down into the depths, and throughout the world researchers continue to work on solving the physical problems involved in getting oxygen into men's lungs so they can exist under water. Theoretically we could have equipped men with their own gills a long time ago. Now the Defense Agency Research Center has achieved success in its experiments and is ready to move on to practical application of its "human gills."

The Defense Agency research team first became interested in the problem in connection with the problem of oxygen supply to submarines. The device that they developed consists basically of three sections: 1) fine silicon membranes which allow gases to pass through but not water; 2) a brass screen to which the silicon membranes are affixed on either side; 3) the "oxygen carrier" vessel. Nitrogen contained in between the membranes combines with the oxygen and flows into the oxygen carrier where the two elements are again separated, the oxygen retained and the nitrogen returned through a pipe to be used again. Thus the silicon membranes act similarly to the gills of a fish.

The most difficult problem lay in constructing a membrane which would not tear under the intense pressure of hundreds of meters below sea level. It was found that by constructing the brass screen in a grid with a mesh of 200 (200 openings per square inch), the device could withstand pressures such as would assault it 150 meters or more beneath the sea.

The total surface area of a pair of human lungs is 80 square meters. Therefore the gills must come to 30 square meters of surface area in order to maintain the oxygen supply for a human being Since one gill of this size would be totally impractical, nature's ingenuity has been imitated again and a number of membranes share the same surface area among them. The total capacity of the device is 60 liters.

So far all testing has been limited to the laboratory; in June of 1973 the development will be put to the test under the Seto Inland Sea near the port of Kobé. If the tests are as successful as anticipated, the necessity for a mother ship to stay with any deep sea diver can be dispensed with in the near future, and the whole picture of deep sea diving may change radically.

Moreover, the research center is planning to build a real residence underneath the sea using the new "gills" and have it in operation by 1975, to be displayed at the international marine exposition to be held in Okinawa in March of that year.

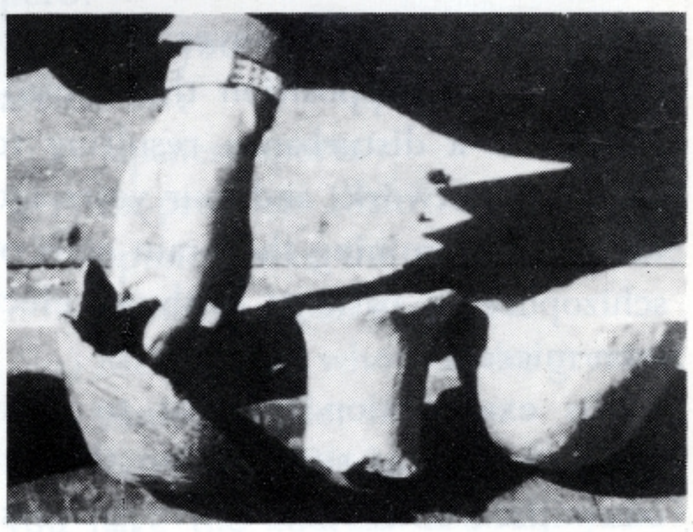
Notice About Back Issues

The order card for back issues included in Vol. IX No. 1 and No. 2 shows the cover for Vol. VIII No. 9 in the position of Vol. VIII No. 7 and vice versa.

Uncovering the Old Days

Workmen who sank their spades into the earth in the city of Matsuyama in Ehimé Prefecture encountered something very different from the sewage drainage pipes they were expecting to repair. What they brought to light was nothing less than a whole house from the latter Yayoi Period, about 1800 years ago. Instantly famous as the Kodera site, the house is leaning somewhat on a slant, but the roof has been preserved pretty much intact. It is the first Yayoi home discovered in the entire country that retains its original shape.

With excavations still under way, the scale of the building seems to be



around 4.5 meters across the front, seven meters from front to back and three meters in height. The construction is of the so-called *tsuma-iri* type, prototype of *taisha* shrine architecture, with the entrance at the short end beneath the triangle formed by the roof. There are two sets of bargeboards in this special style (see figure), which has not appeared in any house thus far discovered. Oak has been used for the most part, and the logs measure five to ten centimeters in diameter. One section of the ridgepole was hewn with an adze.

The river running nearby floods frequently and; four layers of clay laid down on the site tell of repeated inundations. In fact, a great many of the Yayoi sites so far uncovered show signs of having been inundated, probably because the farmers of the Yayoi Period (3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.) braved the dangers of frequent floods to live near rivers which afforded sufficient precious water for their paddy fields. Since the roof and utensils have remained with the house, it is safe to say that the building was merely submerged and not carried downriver.

An underground stream of clear water prevented bacteria from getting at the pillars and saved this important evidence from the past.

The real digging is yet to be done, however; in the meantime, the city is doing its best to protect the precious find, restoring the dirt around the ridgepole and covering it with a tarpaulin. The barbed wire fence around the diggings warns all but the official excavators to keep their distance.

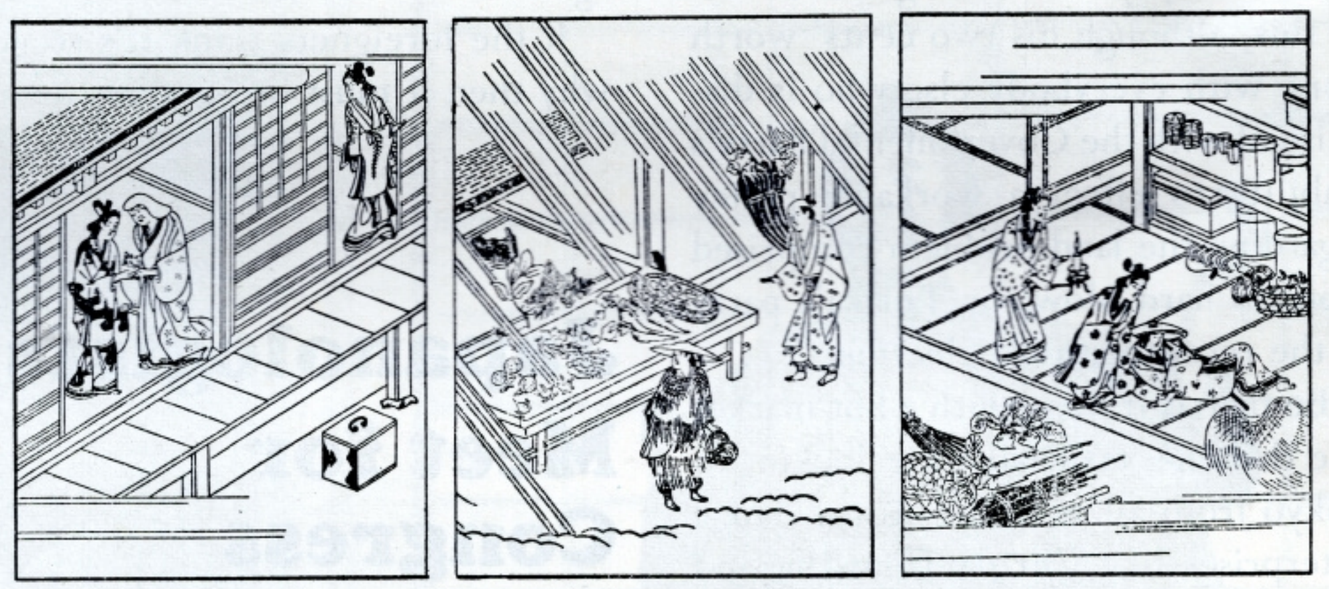
But the sightseers are undismayed by such attempts to discourage them. Archaeological sites are "big" these days when even primary and junior high schoolers are running around with shovels looking for an earthshaking find. The local tourist promoters are tickled pink and Kodera was instantly billed as a star attraction on their itinerary. The nearby residents of the modern period may well wish that this edifice had stayed lost in the obscurity of its Yayoi past.

The Way to Make Your Bundle

JAPANESE ART dealers have begun laying down fantastic sums for masterpieces at the auction blocks in New York and London, the *Sankei Shinbun* recently pointed out—$70,000,000 in 1972. The authors of this "Japanese whirlwind" have not surprisingly invited a share of cold stares from the art world made colder by contempt for the parvenus.

The real startler in this new rush lies in the way they sell back in Japan. All these nice expensive Bonnards, Redons and Matisses already had buyers just waiting to hand over the cash to the dealers. Needless to say, the art dealers are riding high.

A number of things are changing fast. Riding the crest of the "remodelling of the Japanese islands" wave touched off by Prime Minister Tanaka, buildings are springing up like wild dandelions with lots of wall space to be filled with impressive works of art. And, too, the price tags on paintings by Japanese artists using traditional Japanese pigments and methods have suddenly become quite handsome, almost as handsome as those touted European modern masters. Finally, the buyers figure that if they are going to



The young and protected grocer's daughter Oshichi fell in love the moment she took the splinter from the finger of the handsome samurai youth whose patrician family, like her own plebian one, had taken refuge in the temple from the fearsome fire. And then Kichisaburō visited her house in disguise and they were able to consummate their affection. But laws and society forbade their attachment. At last, driven to desperation by her overruling passion, Oshichi decided on a horrible plan. . . .

It's Time Their Stories Were Told

The women of Japan have often been depicted as weak, helpless feminine things fawning behind fans. But that is because no one told the true stories of how imaginative, creative women made their own sometimes very powerful place in Japanese history. Some like Kasuga no Tsuboné rose to positions where their actions could decide the future of the Shōgunate. Some like Okuni and Yosano Akiko ignored the bounds of society to forge new directions in the arts. Some rose above it all to near-beatitude like Hosokawa Gracia. Many of their stories end in tragedy, though by no means all.

We decided it's time their stories were told. And so we offer you the book.

Women Who Shaped Japan,

the first of a series of historical publications by The East.
Please use the order card provided on page 57.

buy anything they might as well buy the best.

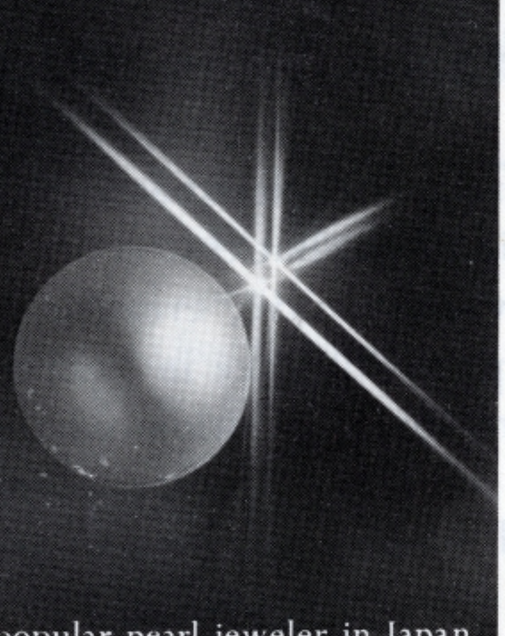
The biggest reason of all though is that the profits from the skyrocketing land prices have, as they say, "come spilling out like spiders' children."

The way land has gone up in these narrow mountainous islands—tens of thousands of dollars to hundreds of thousands of dollars for a section one meter square in central Tōkyō—an awful lot of people are raking in an awful lot of money. Of course the average man in the street who rents his two-room flat for a disheartening part of his pay has nothing to do with all this, although his two cents' worth along with everybody else who is dissatisfied with the Governmental Party's inability to effect a workable policy regarding the land problem comprised a pretty hard blow for Tanaka's party in the recent national election.

Be that as it may, with a hot market like this one, art dealers are flocking to Tōkyō from all over the world. Huge enterprises like Christy from England and Wildenstein's of Paris have already announced their intention to open branches in Tōkyō. And they are not just here to sell. They have their eyes on the works of Japanese painters, hitherto overlooked, both oil and traditional, to sell abroad to a newly aware international market. The reason they are in such a hurry is that they know the Japanese—as talented Japanese artists gain recognition abroad and the demand for their work mounts, Japan will undoubtedly try to buy back all the art that has gone abroad. They did it with ukiyo-e and they will do it again.

If the foreigners think it's so good, why then it must be good.

PEARLS OF DISTINCTION
for those with discriminating taste in things of beauty



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Japanologists Meet for Congress

While Greece, Rome and each of the Western countries have shelves of their own with corners even devoted to China, the publications related to Japan in many Western libraries are still being relegated to the section marked "miscellaneous." Although the number of Western scholars devoting their efforts to Japan and Japanese culture has increased greatly in nearly every country of the world in recent years, the facilities for their research are still in most cases dismally lacking.

In view of this situation, the Japan P.E.N. Club, which has been concerned over the insufficient relay of information through Japanologists to the rest of the world and the occasional misrepresentations and misconceptions that have arisen, called for an International Conference on Japanese Studies to bring Japanologists up to date on what has been happening in Japan and offer them an opportunity to exchange opinions and research findings. The conference was held in Kyōto from November 18 to 25, 1972.

The P.E.N. Club had another intention in opening this symposium. At the same time as Japan's "amazing recovery" and rapid development (primarily economic) since the Second World War have won the admiration of other countries, not a few of the same countries view the future path of Japan's progress with frankly suspicious eyes. The Japanese themselves decry what appears to them to be an increasing isolation of Japan. Thus the Japan P.E.N. Club decided that this was the time to bring together knowledgeable people to take a look at this rather special culture from a standpoint other than purely economic and to promote real understanding and good feeling among the various countries.

Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard University, Italian Ambassador Guiliano Bertuccioli, Prof. Hugh Borton of Columbia University, M. Roger Caillois of the Académie Française, Prof. Charles B. Fahs of Miami University and Portuguese Ambassador Armando Martins Janeira were Guests of Honor while Ms. Elizabeth Gray Vining was a Special Guest. One hundred and eighty Japanologists from abroad and 89 foreign researchers in Japanese studies residing in Japan participated to represent 42 nations. "Modernization and Japanese Culture" composed the central theme and specialized symposiums were held on various areas of research such as literature, religion, graphic and formative art, music, Japanese language, etc.

This conference is the first of its kind to be held on Japan and it became evident that Japanese studies have advanced rapidly in many countries since the war, with many foreign Japanologists pursuing significant research in very difficult areas. As for the criticism that is being directed against Japan from abroad, the Japanologists attending agreed that "this is due to the quite shallow basis for understanding and recognition of Japan in foreign countries; foreign exchange with Japan must be cultivated actively to guide understanding of Japan in a positive direction."

One Teacher One Room: Terakoya

The mischief-maker is forced to hold a teacup and lighted stick of incense as punishment in this all-too-famous scene "Terakoya" from the Kabuki production of Sugawara Denju Tenarai Kagami.

Still developing countries in Asia often point to the speed with which Japan realized its modernization and Westernization after the Meiji Reformation as an example of success in modernization of an Asiatic country. But we feel just the slightest bit uneasy at having our history from the Meiji Restoration on attributed purely to the industriousness of the Japanese whom they seem to conceive as magicians producing "everything" out of "nothing" only through effort. It is true that with the Meiji Restoration the Japanese suddenly transfigured themselves by cutting their topknots off, abandoning their samurai swords and trading their kimono for Western clothes. It is true that Japan's modernization began with adoption of Western styles and outer trappings. But in fact, that sweep of "Westernization" left many untouched issues in its wake.

For instance, Japan's present educa-

tional system ranks with those of the most advanced countries in the world. The illiteracy rate is practically zero. Education has reached the most remote, most mountain-locked areas of the countryside.

A tremendous length of time would normally be required for establishment from scratch of a national education system but behind the great speed with which the modern educational system was accepted is the fact that the general populace had all been well prepared to receive it. In other words, in the pre-Meiji "barbarian" feudalistic society under the Shōgunate and local governments, Japan already had an educational system on a national scale. Illiteracy was said to be as little as 25%, which may be considered remarkably low in comparison with rates in the advanced countries of that time. The name of the educational units in the system which achieved these extensive results but could not survive because they were too "Japanese" is terakoya. *Being a pre-modern system, terakoya were bound to disappear in the light of modernization but the training the children of Japan received there in reading, writing, mathematics and morals surely provided the source of the energy that brought up Japan's capitalism so rapidly.*

Even the Japanese have begun to forget the terakoya but it is an institution well worth looking into.

Children of commoners learned reading, writing and 'rithmetic in terakoya to meet the practical necessity for these basic skills. (Courtesy of Tōkyō-dō Shuppan)

Lots of Books and Readers

THE EDUCATIONAL level of Japan in the early days of Edo, just after the year 1603 when Tokugawa Ieyasu put a period to all the wars and battles fought in the preceding century and established his Shōgunate was poor indeed. As one 19th century author shakes his head: "In the one-hundred-and-some years from Oonin to Keichō (1467–1596), the world was in chaos. There was no one to read books. Even priests, the vigorous and hearty, rushed to the battlefield with clanging spears; likewise Confucian scholars, doctors, augers, calligraphers, artists. The stout and strong all took lessons in archery and horse-riding and left for the battlefield. Literary studies were left to a few weak Confucians, doctors, diviners, calligraphers and artists." (From *Kana Monogatari*, by Nakakuki Yōkoku)

After the passage of two and a half centuries, however, when the Meiji Reformation in 1868 broke the peaceful uninterrupted slumber of the Edo Shōgunate, the face of Japanese culture changed completely. Most samurai knew how to read and write, and many had acquired extensive knowledge of Chinese literature, philosophy, history, Dutch medical science, astronomy and metallurgy, etc. They had gained their education in schools.

One American (W. E. Griffiths) who came to teach at one of the newly established schools of Japan in 1870 commented with a tone of surprise, "(The school) was quite big and lively. About 800 students there were studying English, Chinese and Japanese literature, medicine and military science. There was a fair stock of Dutch books mostly on medicine and other sciences and a good set of European books on military science. There was a fair number of English and American works. In the department of Chinese literature, several thousand book cases were tightly packed with Japanese and Chinese books."

It was an age that overflowed with books. Printing houses published textbooks for public schools, and publishers supplied reading materials to the general public. Wood block printing served these purposes, and the printing shops were hiring several thousand people to engage in the work.

Books for academic purposes comprised but a small portion of all the publications being put out. People could buy picture books for children, home medical guides, travel guides, novels, books of every kind. Already by the early Meiji Era, the society held no place for a man who could not read.

Such a wide and rapid diffusion of culture had been accomplished not through any particular policy or encouragement by the ruling class, but in great part through the small schools called *terakoya*. These were operated by the common people quite autonomously out of their own need for learning letters, asking for neither help nor protection by the ruling class.

Originally the word *terakoya* comes from the school system operated by Buddhist temples (*tera*). Temples in the middle ages, had schools for priests to train successors, where samurai children were also entrusted and educated; these were called *terakoya*.

As mentioned previously, in the two hundred years before the Meiji Period common people were not expected to be able to read or write. But in the middle of the Edo Period, the number of terakoya increased to ten or twelve hundred

in Edo alone. Some small sections of Edo had two or three. The population of Edo in those days was 600 to 700 thousand, among whom the learning population seems to have represented the majority. Even beggers and social outcasts had opportunities to attend terakoya.

One Classroom and One Teacher

WHILE ALL SUCH schools were lumped together under the same name, the curricula and scope of terakoya varied widely. One or two persons who could read and write in a community would begin by teaching a child or two of the neighborhood, and as the number of children gradually increased, they had a terakoya. In many cases schools were opened by low or middle class samurai, who were educated, or Buddhist priests. The number of students, called *terako*, varied from as many as six or seven hundred to twenty

Edo Period school for teaching arithmetic to city children

or less. Fifty to a hundred was the average number of students.

Schedules or curricula at terakoya also varied widely, but generrally the morning began with the teacher reading "codes to live by," or some such platitudes, aloud in front of the children; these the students echoed in chorus before they sat down. Calligraphy

Days were long and when students got bored it meant trouble. Teachers tried all kinds of gimmicks to stir their interest and posted their characters on the wall for criticism.

followed. Each student went to the teacher to get his assignment and returned to his seat to review or practice it.

Calligraphy was practiced on a notebook, which was a pile of crude paper, with brush and ink. Students wrote on the same page over and over again until the page turned entirely black. Still they wrote on top of the black, the only way to discern their strokes being by the wetness of the last layer of ink. When a complete notebook was black and wet, the students were allowed to play and wait for the notebook to dry. In some really poor areas, students wrote on trays or lacquered boards covered with sand or ashes so that characters could be written and erased any number of times. These were called *sunagaki* and *haigaki*.

In these prototypes of the "one teacher one room" school, the teacher actually took the student's hand, guiding the brush to teach them how to write the characters. Terakoya teachers were famous for their skill in writing letters upside down since they had to face their students to teach them.

The morning hours were fully devoted to writing, and the afternoon lesson covered mathematics. Four to five questions were written down on each student's notebook and instructions were given individually. The lesson ended at about two o'clock. The students then cleaned up the classroom, after which the teacher lectured them on etiquette and morality. Training was always geared toward the practical: how to serve tea, how to present a tobacco tray to a guest, how to fold paper figures, how to wrap presents. Even the procedure for a wedding ceremony was sometimes taught here.

Mathematics was emphasized in areas where more townsmen were engaged in business. Sewing, tea ceremony, flower arrangement, *koto* and *samisen* were taught to the daughters of middle class families.

Most important of all in terakoya was ofcourse writing—calligraphy. One learned to read by learning to write. The students were taught characters and phrases which contained bits of knowledge and brief instructive homilies.

Many textbooks for beginners, (generally called *ōrai-mono* 往来物) which contained such general knowledge, moral and social teachings, geography, history, etc. were published. In accord with the com-

position and activities of the community and year-to-year changes, these were revised or new ones issued. No less than seven thousand varieties of such textbooks have survived to the present.

Making Study a Game

Some textbooks were designed to make learning fun for very young children so they would gain knowledge gradually in the course of study without even realizing it. A game of capping verses, called *kusari-bumi*, made use of poems with rythmical lyrics—easy to memorize.

Not only were efforts exerted to make the sentences interesting; abundant illustrations appealed to children's eyes and simple notes explained them in a manner easy for children to understand. The noted satirist from the latter Edo Period, Takizawa Bakin, was a teacher at a terakoya at the height of his career. He inserted the names of various places throughout the country in a narration in feminine style concerning a wedding ceremony to make the children interested in studying.

Since terakoya study was often so monotonous, teachers tried everything to stimulate the students from time to time and encourage them to further efforts. Names of students who had done good work or who were working very hard were posted in the classroom, honors were conferred and awards like brushes, inkstones or illustrated stories presented; the very young children merited sweet things.

Games were played in some terakoya to try to sugarcoat studying further:

Sumō-gaki—the students were divided into east and west teams while a referee called on one contestant from each of the two teams to write a character. The teacher judged the better and the winner.

Kazu-narai—a light touched to a stick of incense was the sign for the students to set about writing characters furiously. The one who wrote the most characters before the incense burned out won. Characters written poorly or incorrectly did not count.

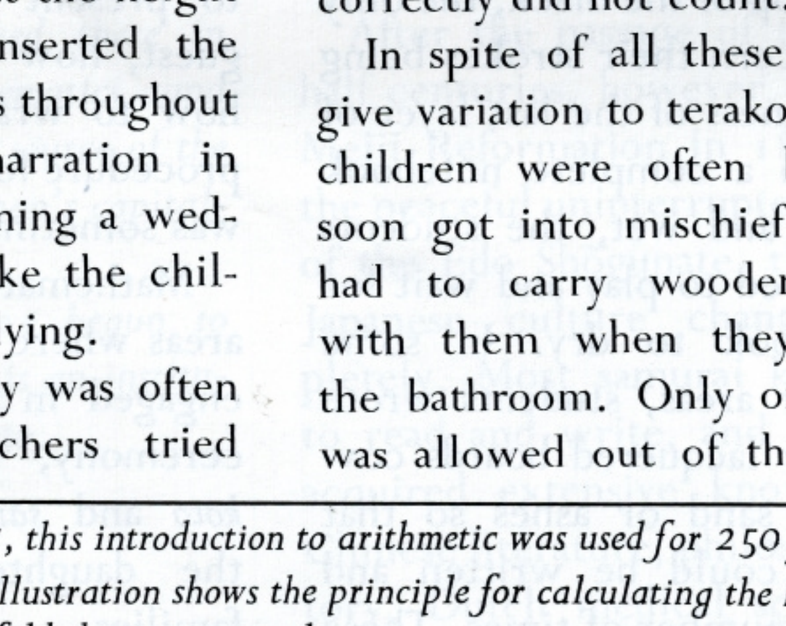
In spite of all these efforts to give variation to terakoya studies, children were often bored and soon got into mischief. Children had to carry wooden markers with them when they went to the bathroom. Only one student was allowed out of the room at a time in some terakoya, so they could not get together outside.

Some of the fights got really rowdy, with the children hitting each other over the head with their inkstones, bloodying each other up and some even attacking the teacher. They were the so-called "enfants terribles." The naughty and the lazy had to be punished. They were kept in the classroom after the others had gone, or they were told to stand with a bowl full of water in one hand and a lighted stick of incense in the other, and they were not to spill the water as long as the incense lasted. Or the teacher struck the wrongdoer with a folded fan wrapped in stiff paper. It produced a fearsome sound but the pain was not serious. Some very strict teachers were nick-named *kaminari shishō* meaning "thunderbolt teachers," though all they did was to stare at mischief-makers with burning eyes.

Because teachers operated terakoya more for the love of learning certainly than for the insignificant remuneration, there was usually no fixed tuition for sending children to terakoya. It is difficult to know what a teacher's income was in those days. Knowledge was so highly esteemed that it could not be made an object of business, and the teachers were of the conviction that it was their humanistic mission to give knowledge to others. Even when the teaching was a man's only way to make a living, he would not degrade himself by putting a price tag on his professional services.

Sometimes terakoya collected money to replace *tatami* in summer and to purchase charcoal in winter, but except for these minor expenses, parents entrusted their children to the teacher's benevolent care, while the teachers found their reward in the gratitude and respect of their students. Any

First printed in 1627, this introduction to arithmetic was used for 250 years, a hidden best seller. Illustration shows the principle for calculating the height of a tree by using paper folded into a triangle.



payment the parents offered represented a gesture of gratitude. The sum depended on how deep the parents' gratitude went and how much they could afford to pay. These payments were made as presents on special occasions such as New Year's Day, midsummer *o-bon*, or other special holidays.

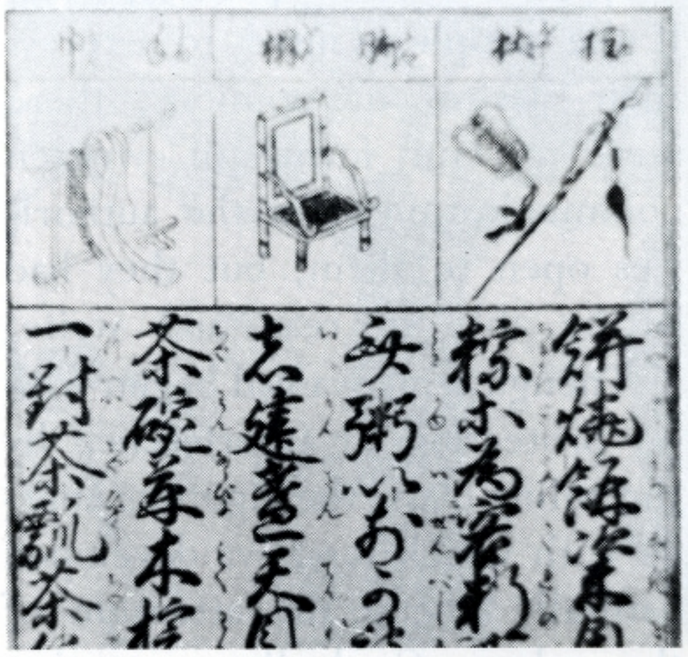
If a teacher treated children in accordance with the sum of payment he received from their parents, he threw himself open to contempt. Toward the end of the Edo Period, education was so widely spread that even the poorest slum people could receive it. Some teachers conducted classes in broken-down houses in slum districts. They usually charged about four *mon* per day (when a day's supply of rice for one person cost 25 mon) and their main duty was to keep the children safe and away from their busy parents—glorified babysitters.

The terakoya educational system is very different from the education of today. With the teacher actually taking the student's hand and guiding the brushstrokes, the contact between teacher and student was very close and the teacher exerted immense influence on the children. They enjoyed a warm human relationship which is rare in the massive educational institutions of today. The teacher-student relationship did not end when the student left the terakoya but lasted a lifetime. Former students often visited their teachers, bringing presents on occasions such as o-bon or the year-end season, and if their teacher had some kind of trouble, they gathered to help him. When a teacher died, the students often got together and built a monument for him. Several such monuments still stand in a certain shrine located in Akita Prefecture.

You Have to Know Your Characters

No institution arises from nothing and the Edo Period contained certain special factors and conditions which fostered the rise of terakoya. This was a period unlike any period that preceded it, a period of lasting peace in which culture and commerce could develop unimpeded.

The commercial system became more complicated and expanded on a national scale. People engaged in business and trading first of all felt the urgent need for the ability to read and write. Businessmen widely scattered all over the country had to correspond with one another to keep track of negotiations, or the flow of goods and demand, and to conclude contracts. They were also obliged to keep records of their business from day to day, write orders, and keep accounts.



A special style and abundant illustrations made textbooks fun to read so that students learned what they needed to know for everyday living almost without realizing it.

The man who could not write could not do business. Correspondence was necessary not only between business people, but also with craftsmen or farmers who supplied and purchased the goods. Education, if a minimum of it, was necessary to sustain their living. Under these circumstances, even the poorest tried to learn, though they were reduced to using haigaki or sunagaki because they could not afford the proper tools.

In the feudalistic society where samurai composed the highest class and farmers, craftsmen and merchants were ranked beneath them, the samurai were required to qualify themselves for their position by obtaining the highest cultural and moral education, while the people of the lower classes could achieve success in the society only through the profits offered by the business world. "Honor gold and silver like the gods throughout your life," townsmen admonished their children.

Merchants were advised to direct all their efforts toward making money: "From morning to night a merchant must concentrate his energies on making his business profitable, paying attention to details." (From *Chōnin-bukuro* by Nishikawa Joken.) They could not fulfill these strictures if they could not add and subtract, however. The *gakumon* (学問) or "scholarship" of the samurai was of no use to them.

The program of education necessary for the common children of commercial, craftmaking and farming peoples was practical, and terakoya, operated by the people, met the requirements of the people.

The age itself worked to whip up enthusiasm for learning. Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan (1583–1652) who acted as lecturer on Chu Hsi Philosophy to the Tokugawa Shōgunate, emphasized the program of study outlined in the introduction to Chu Hsi's book: "to enter on one's studies in primary school at the age of eight and to enter a university at 15." This system was not, of course, directed at the children

of commoners; individual fiefs established schools to train their young samurai. These centered around Confucian studies, which were considered the most important to samurai, as well as the study of Japanese history and classics, etiquette and ceremony, Dutch studies and finally Western mathematics and military science. The number of such schools reached 280. Some excellent scholars also founded their own private schools which they managed quite independent of the authorities and which offered education at a level far more advanced than the terakoya. As students anxious for higher education gathered at these highly reputed schools to study with professors they respected, the schools turned out many leading scholars.

The eager pursuit of education by the members of the ruling class naturally influenced the rest of the population. Gradually the need came to be felt for standard textbooks.

Confucianist Nakae Tōju (1608–1648) urged the necessity for scholars among people from all walks of life regardless of social class. Yamaga Sōkō (1622–1685) carried the idea of popular education still further when he advocated not merely encouraging scholarship but establishing the educational system most adequate to popular needs by observing the educational requirements of people's daily lives.

As people became more and more anxious to learn and the number of terakoya increased, the rulers in the Shōgunate and in the local domains realized that education offered a convenient means to control and administer the complex and vastly variant society and economy.

They initiated regulations and laws in written communications or posted them in public places. If the people wanted to express their desires or opinions, there were certain forms of written communication with the authorities open to them, but they had to be able to read and write.

Though terakoya had begun with no protection or interference by the ruling class, the vigorous energy with which terakoya developed naturally caught the attention of the rulers. Gradually protection and controls were extended. The 8th Shōgun Yoshimune (1684–1751; ruled from 1716) made it the duty of the Shōgunate to compile textbooks to achieve uniform education and uniformity of ideas among farmers and townsmen. Confucian scholars wrote the textbooks which were distributed to the terakoya.

The textbooks entitled *Rikuyu Engi Taii* (六諭衍義大意)— "Six General Principles"—set forth the six (Confucian) commandments, including "filial piety," "respect for superiors" and "peaceful relations among countrymen," exhorting people to be mild and obedient.

Terakoya thrived. Nevertheless, the development of terakoya was not a straight line of uninterrupted growth. Directly affected by economic conditions of the times, disasters such as floods, storms, or droughts caused many terakoya to disappear in the years that followed. The number of terakoya also fluctuated in response to the ups and downs in the price of rice. The stability of terakoya education could only be maintained when the living conditions of the people were stable and secure.

The new educational system of the Meiji Government established in 1870 after models of European educational systems was, of course, a much more effective one in all respects than the education in terakoya, but the spiritual legacies of terakoya are not to be ignored. The Ministry of of Education announced in 1880 that most of the teachers in its public schools had taught in terakoya. Without the tradition of popular education through terakoya behind it, the new educational system could never have achieved the rapid and amazing development it did. 東

How a typical terakoya must have looked. By the mid-Edo Period, thriving mercantile activity made terakoya education indispensable for the common people.

The Religious Background for Japanese Economic Activities

by Prof. Hazama Hiroshi

This is to introduce a study of certain Japanese customs related to their economic activities. Easily understandable, we hope that it will attract the attention not only of specialists but of all who have interest in the comparison of cultures.

The author, Hazama Hiroshi, is an Assistant Professor at Tōkyō Education University, specializing in industrial sociology with diversified interests in economics and labor problems of Japan. He is one of the most active scholars in the field of Japanese sociological research today. His study of the origins of Japanese culture and the people of Japan through industrial problems has received wide recognition not only among sociologists but among scholars in related fields, economists and economic historians as well. His most widely-known book is the "History of Labor Administration in Japan," published in 1964.

Japanese families pay homage at shrines on the "first pilgrimage of the New Year"—hatsumōdé—and gather their energies, resolved to make advances in the new year.

THE IDEA THAT differences between nations or races in their economic activities are due not only to differences in political and economic conditions, but to cultural differences as well is now widely accepted. Many scholars concerned with the relation between economy and culture have taken particular interest in the relation between religion and economy. It is evident that economic activity does not rest only upon principles of profit and loss, but varies depending on people's values and ideas. The reason why such researchers place a special weight on religion among the many cultural factors is because religions contribute so greatly to the formation of people's thoughts and assignation of values.

There is a tendency in modern times among Japanese as well as Europeans and Americans for religion to exert less and less influence on daily life and thought, as rational, scientific ways of thinking take the lead and leave less margin for religion to play a role. In former times when a person was troubled or in difficulty, he took his problems to his religious leader and asked help and forgiveness, whereas these days he would be more likely to seek aid from a social or psychiatric counselor. Thus religion no longer affects men's economic activities as it once did. Nevertheless, our daily thoughts and actions, especially those governed by habit or custom, are still heavily influenced by traditional religion whether we are conscious of the fact or not.

There is much in the way Japanese carry on their economic activities, at times so strange to foreigners, that can be understood through consideration of the re-

ligious thought and practices hidden behind the ideas and actions of the Japanese.

The typical religions of the Japanese people can be identified basically as three: Shintō, the native religion of Japan; Buddhism which originated in India; and Confucianism from China. An important point in this respect is that each member of the population does not "belong" to one of these three religions. For instance, you cannot say that 40% of the people are Shintōists, 30% Buddhists and 30% Confucianists. Most Japanese mix elements of all three in their lives. That is to say, most of the people have accepted in themselves all three religions.

It is often said, "A Japanese is born as a Shintōist, marries as a Christian and dies as a Buddhist." It has been a custom since old times in Japan for a mother to take her new-born baby to a Shintō shrine to pray that the child may grow up strong and healthy. The custom, called *miyamairi,* still is common practice.

Christian weddings are widely favored by young people of today who feel that the Shintō wedding is old-fashioned. They merely adopt the trappings of a Christian wedding as a new fashion.

People are said to "die as Buddhists" because most graveyards are cared for by Buddhist temples and it is convenient for the temples to continue conducting funerals as they have always done.

This is an extreme case, but it must be pointed out that such a religious life is perfectly acceptable in this country.

It must also be noted that the Japanese have more or less modified both Buddhism and Confucianism in the course of assimilation to fit the Japanese character, and these have become rather different from the original forms of Buddhism in India or Confucianism in China.

Before building a new office building, the "permission" of the god of the land which has been chosen for the site is requested in a ceremony called the jichin-sai.
(Courtesy of Shufu to Seikatsu Sha)

For instance, the central objects of worship in the native Shintō are *kami* and those of Buddhism are *hotoké* or Buddhas, but the people have conceived of them all in the same way, in a peaceful coexistence. They are not only coexisting but mixed; they are not kami and hotoké, but kami-hotoké.

This attitude toward originally distinct religions reflects very well the characteristics of the Japanese ways of thinking.

It is rare for Japanese to think concentratedly on Shintō, Buddhism and Confucianism one by one and select one and only one as a personal guide for life, on which to base all thought and behavior. Japanese accept anything or everything there is, and use one or the other to suit the time, place and occasion. In a good sense, this attitude embodies an adaptable, comprehensive and flexible nature, but it can equally be criticized as a sign of inconsistency and opportunism.

The economic activities of the Japanese frequently reflect these characteristics.

Religion offers man help in times of anxiety and suffering. In the past Japanese prayed to kami or hotoké for aid and protection when they were under stress, but the majority of Japanese never found it necessary to ask fundamental questions about the life of their gods, why a man is born, or how he should live. Their prayers concerned daily, immediate problems—asking the gods to cure a disease as soon as possible, or bestow material fortune, or to grant the birth of a child. Young people pray to pass an entrance examination or to meet a love partner. Japanese religious concerns seem to connect more immediately with economic concerns.

In the past as well as the present, in fact, Japanese have offered many prayers to kami or hotoké for assistance in economic matters. Business people pray for prosperity and people involved in the management of enterprises pray for their successful operation. Laborers pray for their own safety and advancement.

The custom of *hatsumodé,* the "first pilgrimage" when the family goes to a shrine on New Year's morning, has long been established and composes a typical Japanese religious practice. For a little while after the Second World War this custom became less popular, but lately it has picked up again. It is said that worshippers to temples and shrines increase in periods of economic recess, which sufficiently reveals how closely people relate religion with their economic activities.

Also, the people do not discriminate very clearly between re-

ligion and superstitions or charms. When people offer their common and immediate sorts of prayers to kami and hotoké with the expectation of having them fulfilled, elements of superstition or charms inevitably enter in. The worshipper at a shrine or temple does not only pray; he also buys an *o-fuda* or *o-mamori* sold there. These are considered to have some mysterious power, and it is believed that carrying one about works to avert disaster and invite fortune. Some of the *o-fuda* or *o-mamori* are issued for specific purposes like "peace in the home," "protection from thieves," "safety from traffic accidents." A businessman buys an o-fuda for "business prosperity" and posts it on a wall in his office. A taxi driver buys an o-mamori to protect him from accidents and pastes it on the inside windshield of his car. Then there is the jet pilot with the most advanced scientific technology of today at his command who keeps an o-mamori in his pocket for "life protection."

Generally as people's ideas become more rational and scientific toward all phases of life, they tend to solve their common troubles and sufferings scientifically, to become less dependent on religion or superstitions for solution of their problems. The fact that many Japanese still seek solution of their common problems in religion may suggest that Japanese do not yet think entirely on a rational basis.

In advanced countries in Europe and America, economic activities are based on scientific thought, where religions have the least significance. But in Japan, as mentioned above, religion and superstitions play an active role. Of course one of the causes for this lies in the lack of rationalism, but that is not all. The economy of Japan itself has elements of instability and one cannot gain a reliable view of the movements within the economy based on rationalism alone. The economy is highly speculative and risky. This is not necessarily a tendency unique to Japan, and many other less advanced countries evidence the same tendency. Living in a world of insecurity and contingency like this, people become gamblers and incline to reliance on superstitions. They may try to seek the solution for feelings of mental helplessness in a world of irrationalism.

Japanese religious practices like the *hatsumodé* are not limited to lower class, less well-educated people as you might expect. University professors and scientists stand right beside them at the shrine clapping their hands to gain the gods' attention. They may not necessarily "believe" in all the superstitious elements of the worship. But they have seen enough to know that the most advanced technology can not forecast accidents. They too are beset by fears, and these fears usher them to join in religious customs even when they feel these to be absurd. Moreover, they find a stimulating purification in the austere and clean atmosphere of the shrines and temples which provides an incentive to grapple with their work anew. *Hatsumodé* especially braces one up to face what the new year will bring, and it offers a rare occasion for recreation as a whole family.

Here it may be necessary to delve a little further into the nature of the kami and hotoke, invoked for protection. Of course beliefs and practices are complex and vary from person to person and age to age. Though it may be a rather too simplified classification, I believe the protective gods of the Japanese are basically of two kinds, those derived from nature and those related to groups or classes of people. The first are all kami while the latter comprises both kami and hotoké. The divine protectors which are connected with nature, and related with the economic activities of men, derive from the belief that land, mountains, water and all natural phenomena are under the rule of specific gods. This belief is of a primitive kind, in existence before any established religions were introduced. But people still design their activities in accord with these beliefs to some extent. Farmers worship *ta-no-kami*—the god of rice paddies—as one of the land gods, and those who depend on mountains for their living, those engaged in forestry, mining operators and miners, worship *yama-no-kami*. Before building a house, or even a plant or an office building, the *jichin-sai* ceremony in dedication of the land is held more or less to gain permission from the god of the land for the construction. When a large plant or a high building is built, a shrine is usually set up in a corner of the site or on the roof of the building in homage to the god of the land. Primitive people feared the anger of the gods, visited upon them as *tatari* or curses, and these practices represent survivals from the early beliefs.

The gods which are connected with groups of people can be further classified into three kinds: one which protects the nation or the administrative group, the second which protects the family which is the basic unit of the society of the common people, and lastly the protector of occupational groups. The tutelary god or gods of the nation have been gradually modified as the conception of the nation expanded. Today there are the gods to protect the whole country of Japan and those to protect each province—and the provinces also used to be called "countries" (*kuni*); in all cases the gods are

called kami. Hotoké protect the family. Only the Imperial Family is guarded by kami, identical with the kami of the nation. Kami are worshipped in shrines and hotoké are worshipped in temples. Once it was a practice in every home to worship both kami and hotoké, at a kamidana and a butsudan respectively. The guardian gods of occupational groups are most often called kami, but sometimes in the past they have been termed differently, neither kami nor hotoké.

Most important to a discussion of the occupational gods are the *senzo* or the "ancestors," the founder of the enterprise (i.e., of the family) in particular. It does not make any difference whether the family line can actually be traced and the "ancestor" identified. It is enough if people believe in the tradition.

It may be easier to see the link between economic activities and tutelary deities in relation with occupational group gods. People worship gods of particular occupations in their places of work; in old times they used to worship in the morning and evening, before setting to work and after finishing it. They offered prayers for prosperity of the business, higher quality products, and safety in their work. Nowadays, occupations having specific guardian gods are becoming very scarce, though one profession which has observed the customs with especial strictness is the swordsmith. In these days, of course, worship has its primary value in ritual; few believe in a direct cause-and-effect relationship between their prayers and the results of their labors. But it does influence the workers, strengthening their concentration and thus raising the safety factor and leading to improvement of the quality.

The practical relation between the guardian gods of the nation and the economic activities of the people at large at present is not intense. Nevertheless, people still follow the custom of going to shrines to ease their anxieties. The economic meaning enters in the closer relation with their family gods. When work involves the whole family as in the case of small or medium-sized enterprises, the family god becomes the god of the occupation as well. Until sometime ago, all the employees of an enterprise often worshipped at the kamidana and butsudan of the owner of the shop. In large businesses today employees gather in the morning before work, a remnant of the old custom, but the religious elements are reduced and the employees merely greet each other and confirm their work assignments for the day. But more important than such customs is the basic idea of holding the ancestor or the founder of the group—the senzo—as their protector and unifying symbol. This feeling is alive as a subconscious force even in the minds of the big business leaders. Many large enterprises hold regular memorial observances for deceased members of the company, which all employees attend, or have a ceremony of this kind at the beginning of any major plant event in memory of the founder or former leaders of the group. These are intended to honor the senzo of the enterprise, and have the effect of uniting the constituent members in loyalty to the business. Without doubt, this composes an important element in the psychological basis of corporate loyalty in Japan.

Along with Shintō and Buddhism, Confucianism cannot be ignored in the religious background of the Japanese. But Confucianism has never acted to symbo lize the group. Generally, all adopted religions were first accepted by the ruling classes as the morality to be used in establishing the social order. Confucian theories were found to have positive use in maintaining the order in an enterprise or in economic activities. But this is a wide subject, to be taken up at another time. 東

The most modern and, one would think, secular of modern businesses sets aside a place on the roof of its building for a shrine to bring "safety and prosperity" to the enterprise.

Edo Castle, Living Monument to the Past

We have had to restrain ourselves for some time from introducing one of the most interesting stories of all, the story of Edo Castle. Readers who have been with us for several years will recall the series we presented from Vol. VI No. 2 to Vol. VI No. 6 on Castle Romances. We were pleased at the fine reception given that series, but you may remember that we did not include Edo Castle among them. Edo Castle is one of the finest castles in Japan, with a grandeur, scope and historical significance that makes it difficult to rank with the others no matter how distinctive.

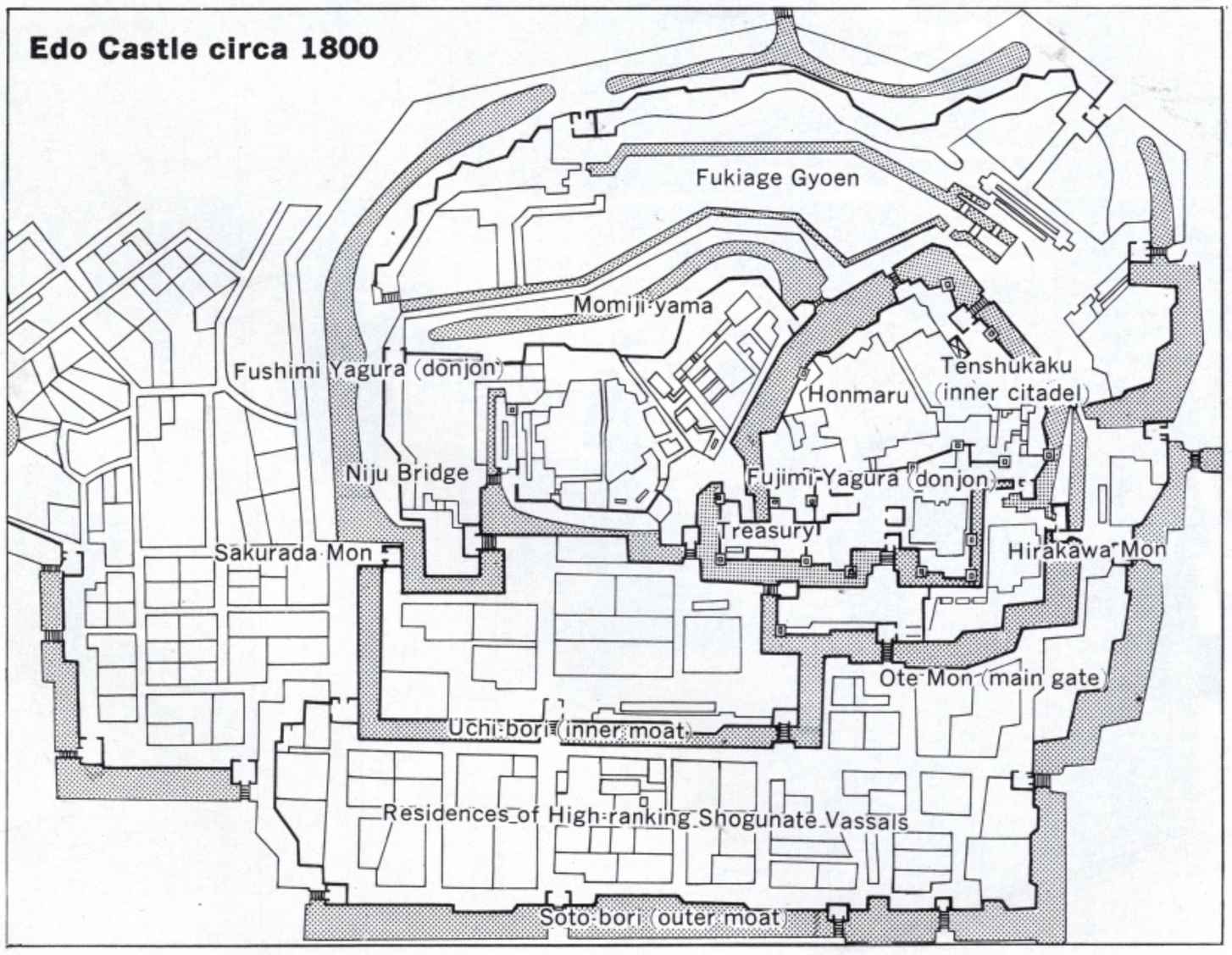
While it rose against the sky in a great symbol of the authority of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, throughout the some 300 years during which the business of administering the government of Japan took place in this edifice, not once did it undergo attack. Today it still stands in the center of the metropolis of Tōkyō, its beautiful walls and moat, many gates and three remaining donjons a constant reminder of its mighty past. Now the Imperial Family occupies one part of it and its history goes on, a history that began in the battle-filled days of the Sengoku Jidai and contains so many stories that we could never tell them all.

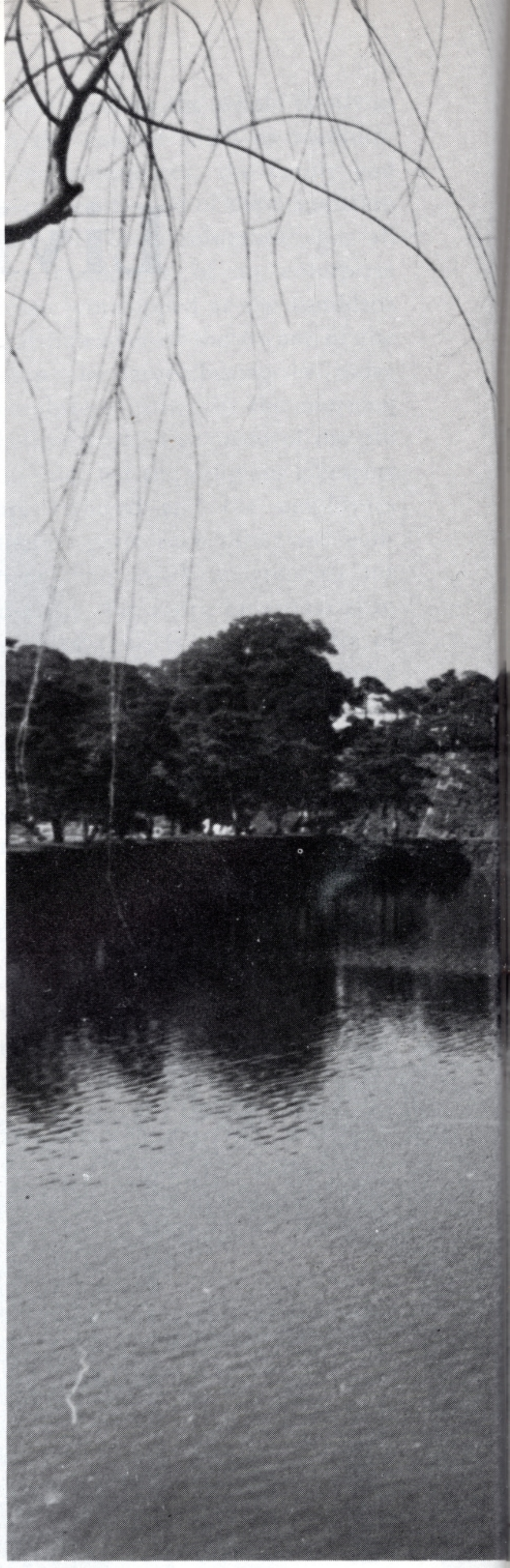
LORDS NO LONGER rule over castles in Japan; they have all become historical sites for the edification and enjoyment of tourists, and you might say they are "dead castles." But there is one that is still alive, the one constructed on the grandest scale of all castles ever built in the history of Japan—the Castle of Edo which now stands in the center of bustling Tōkyō.

Before it assumed its ultimate magnificence, in the middle of the 12th century when the area was nothing but wilderness, Edo Castle was no more than the modest residence of a wealthy local landowner. In the process of its expansion through the 800 years that followed and as it changed hands, the style of the castle was modified and the scope enlarged.

In the 300 years from early in the 17th century to the end of the 19th, generations of the Tokugawa Shōgunate made this castle their place of residence at the same time that it housed the seat of the Shōgunate government containing the highest administrative, legislative and judicial offices.

In 1590, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the ruler of the time, ordered Tokugawa Ieyasu (who afterward founded the Tokugawa Shōgunate) to leave behind the five provinces which he ruled around Mikawa, now Aichi Prefecture, where civilization was relatively advanced, for





Sakurada Nijū Yagura (Donjon)—behind it is the Fujimi Yagura.

seven provinces in the Kantō District. By giving him a significantly larger domain than he had commanded previously Hideyoshi purported to reward Ieyasu for his meritorious services in behalf of Hideyoshi's efforts to unify the country. But the shrewd Hideyoshi also doubtless wished to send Ieyasu away as far as possible from the central Kyōto-Osaka area where he might become a threat. Moreover, Ieyasu, deprived of the support of his vassals who had pledged their loyalty to his family, and placed in the middle of an alien land, could look forward to having his subjects rebel against their new lord.

But Ieyasu expressed no dissatisfaction and went obediently to Kantō. He seemed to have some-

thing in mind. The former ruler of the Kantō District had kept his main castle in Odawara; Ieyasu moved into the branch castle in Edo and made it his residence. (Whether by his own decision or at the direction of Hideyoshi is not known.)

The castle of Edo when Ieyasu took it over was only nominally a castle and in fact a ruin.

This castle had been built 133 years before Ieyasu entered its gates, by a young general named Ota Dōkan. Though it was supposed to have been a fine edifice when it was erected there were no stone fortifications around it, only mud piles thickly overgrown with bamboo. Ieyasu turned the houses vacated by samurai of the former daimyō over to his own vassals. These were of the poorest kind with roofs which were nothing but thin layers of wood with stone weights on them. The town around the castle consisted of about a hundred thatched-roof houses scattered here and there.

When Hideyoshi died in 1598, Ieyasu's political power increased. The coalition administration by five daimyō including Ieyasu, set up by Hideyoshi on his deathbed was soon broken by Ieyasu's arbitrary action, which divided all the lords throughout the country into two factions, one in support of the Tokugawa and the other against. These met and clashed at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600 (see The East, Vol. VIII No. 1) Ieyasu won the battle, and three years later he founded the Tokugawa Shōgunate.

The significance of Edo Castle and the town surrounding it changed radically. No longer simply the residence of one lord, it now became the center of national government.

In the year that followed the foundation of the Shōgunate, Ieyasu ordered all the daimyō of the coun-

The donjon in the distance is the Fushimi Yagura; Emperor Meiji passed over the bridge, the Nijū-bashi, when he first moved into Edo Castle. →

While big modern buildings crowd together in the noisy, jostling city outside the walls of Edo Castle, inside one can find wild open spaces like this, the Dōkan moat, populated by pheasants and white herons.

Kikyō Mon, the "Bellflower Gate"

try to supply stone, lumber and manpower for the repair and enlargement of the castle. The plan was drawn up by Ieyasu himself assisted by Tōdō Takatora, a reputed master of castle construction.

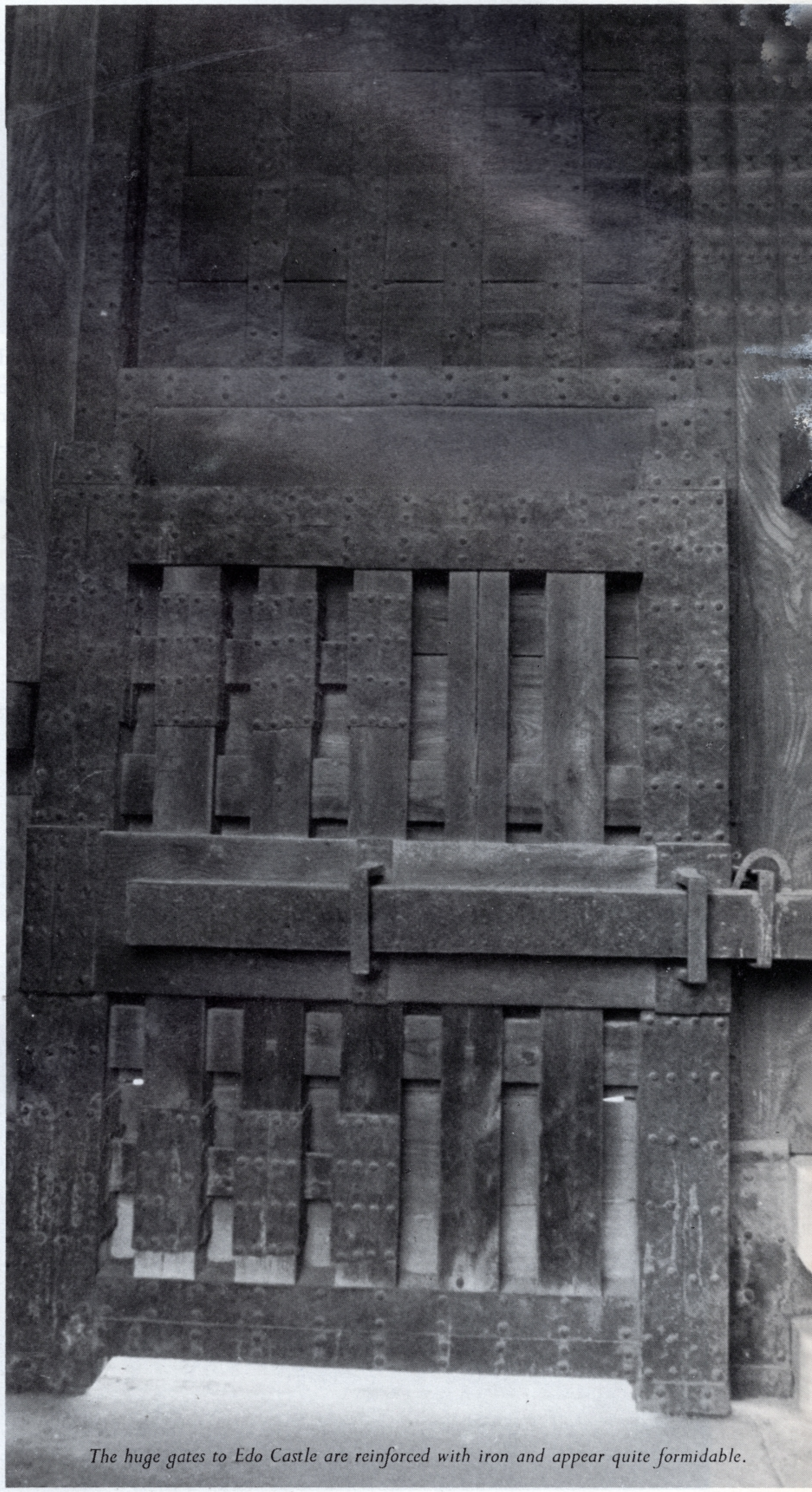
The daimyō received orders to share the responsibilities of construction. Each daimyō was assigned a certain section of the castle, the main citadel, the central group of buildings, the outer stone walls, donjons, gates, etc. The stone walls were further divided among them by lot. They hustled to complete the work allotted them as rapidly and as well as possible. The lords watched the lots come up with great anxiety, for the most difficult jobs carried a high risk of shameful failure and brought heavy financial burdens.

The Hirakawa Mon was also called the Fujō Mon or "defiled gate" because corpses and criminals passed out of the castle only through this gate.

Daimyō gathered in Edo accompanied by their vassals and commoners from their domains to begin the monumental task. One estimate puts the number of workmen brought to Edo for the construction at between 30,000 and 40,000. Daimyō made the rounds personally to check the work proogress every morning and evening. Stone for the walls and lumber for the buildings were hauled in from all over the country. Over 3000 vessels pulled up at the largest quarry located in Izu (now Shizu-

oka Prefecture). Each ship carried two huge stones, one of which required 100 men to move, to Edo twice a month. Numerous workmen under different daimyō crowded into the quarries, and to put an end to the fights that continually broke out over which stone belonged to which daimyō, the lords engraved their family crests on their stones for identification. The daimyō vied with each other to do the most outstanding work and demonstrate their loyalty to the Shōgun.

The drain on funds and men from their own domains caused some of the daimyō who were ordered to supply stone, lumber and men to borrow money from wealthy townsmen, incurring deep debts and putting them in a bad way. But they knew the fate of daimyō who disobeyed the Shōgun's orders or failed in their part



The huge gates to Edo Castle are reinforced with iron and appear quite formidable.

of the construction—anything from discontinuation of the family to seppuku or even an attack by the strong army of the Shogunate. They fearfully went about their duties.

The construction supported by the efforts of the whole country carried over even after the death of Ieyasu and finally reached completion 50 years after it was started, under the rule of the third Shogun Iemitsu. The greater part of the gigantic expense for the construction and the huge number of workmen in fact had not been borne by the Tokugawa family but by the daimyō. The fact that no daimyō ever tried to rebel against the Tokugawa in spite of it all is evidence of the power of the Shōgunate by the time the castle was completed.

The completed castle had a broad exterior surrounded by an outer moat, the first barrier against attack from outside, as long as 15 kilometers; an inner moat extended within it for 11 kilometers. The width of the moat encircling the castle of Edo averaged about 60 meters, 160 meters at the widest, Chidorigafuchi. The inner town within the inner moat comprised the castle itself.

The group of central buildings was the Honmaru Goten—the main palace—where the Shōgun lived and also presided over the affairs of government. The single-story tile roofed buildings covered an area of 11,400 tsubo. One half of this central cluster of buildings formed one continuous floor with major partitions between the Omotémuki—frontal area—and Nakaokumuki—middle interior. The bridge over a moat connected this with another building of identical size which was Ooku—the deepest interior.

The Omotémuki consisted of

Guards checked all who entered the main gate to Edo Castle, Oté Mon, here.

The Fujimi Yagura (donjon) was built specially for viewing Mt. Fuji.

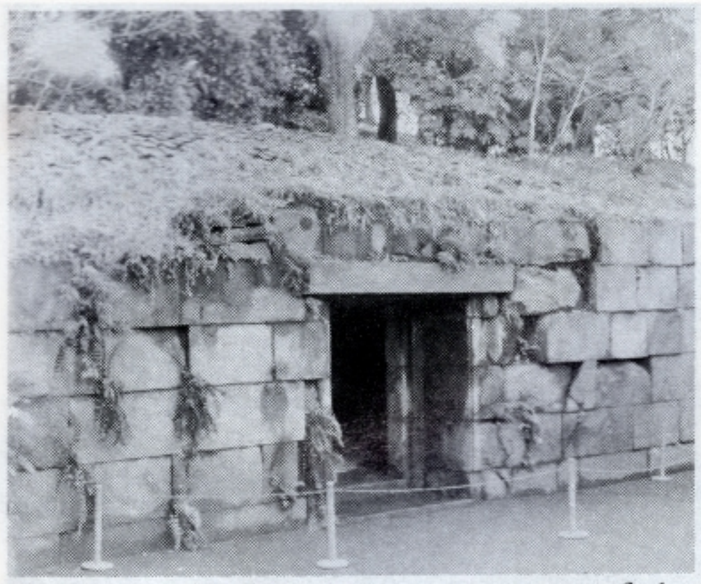
groups of rooms where ceremonies were held, offices where officials fulfilled varied administrative duties and so on. Nakaokumuki was the Shōgun's official residence where he slept and conducted affairs of government. Ooku in the furthest interior, covering an entire half of the whole Honmaru, was where the Shōgun's wife and her attendants lived. The Shōgun was the only man allowed in Ooku; Ooku was a world consisting solely of women and constituted the private quarters of the Shōgun.

The attendant women belonged to a rigid ranking system, their positions varying from the lower end of the scale to cultivated ladies who attended on visitors, gave instruca tion in ritual and etiquette as in tea-ceremony, or attended the Shōgun, providing all sorts of services. Here too lived the *sokushitsu*—subordinate wives or concubines. All duties from the common daily tasks to guarding the quarters at night were performed entirely by women.

Some high-ranking women had frequent contacts with the Shōgun. To prevent secret matters of the Shōgunate from leaking out through them, a woman who entered Ooku was bound to serve for life. Once a woman came in here, she could never go home.

In a corner to the north of Ooku, the inner citadel rose five stories to a height of 51.5 meters, with golden dolfins gamboling on the two ends of the roof, a symbol of the grandeur of the Shogunate.

Another group of buildings, the western palace or Nishinomaru, stood southwest of the Honmaru, in almost the same design of construction as the Honmaru. The retired Shōgun or Shōgun's heir lived here. This was also divided into Omoté and Ooku. In continu-



In times of disaster the treasures of the Shōgunate were probably to be brought here.

ation with the Nishinomaru was a garden, called Momijiyama, containing a shrine built in memory of Ieyasu, the founder of the Shōgunate, shrines to the generations of Tokugawa Shōguns and a storehouse for special treasures.

Until the big fire in 1657, the Fukiagé palace stood to the south of Nishinomaru beyond a moat. These buildings were residences for the three major branch families of the Tokugawa (*Gosanké*), other branch families (*Shinpan*) and the daimyō who had been Tokugawa retainers before establishment of the Shogunate (*Fudai*); they guarded the castle on the west.

After the great fire, all these residences were razed and the area turned into a grand garden covering about 130,000 tsubo. Called the Fukiagé Gyoen, it is still there to recall the image of the old days of Edo with its thick forests, grasses and animals. For botanical and zoological studies the site is a source of valuable data.

To the north of the Honmaru the other daimyō built their living quarters and rice was stored in big warehouses.

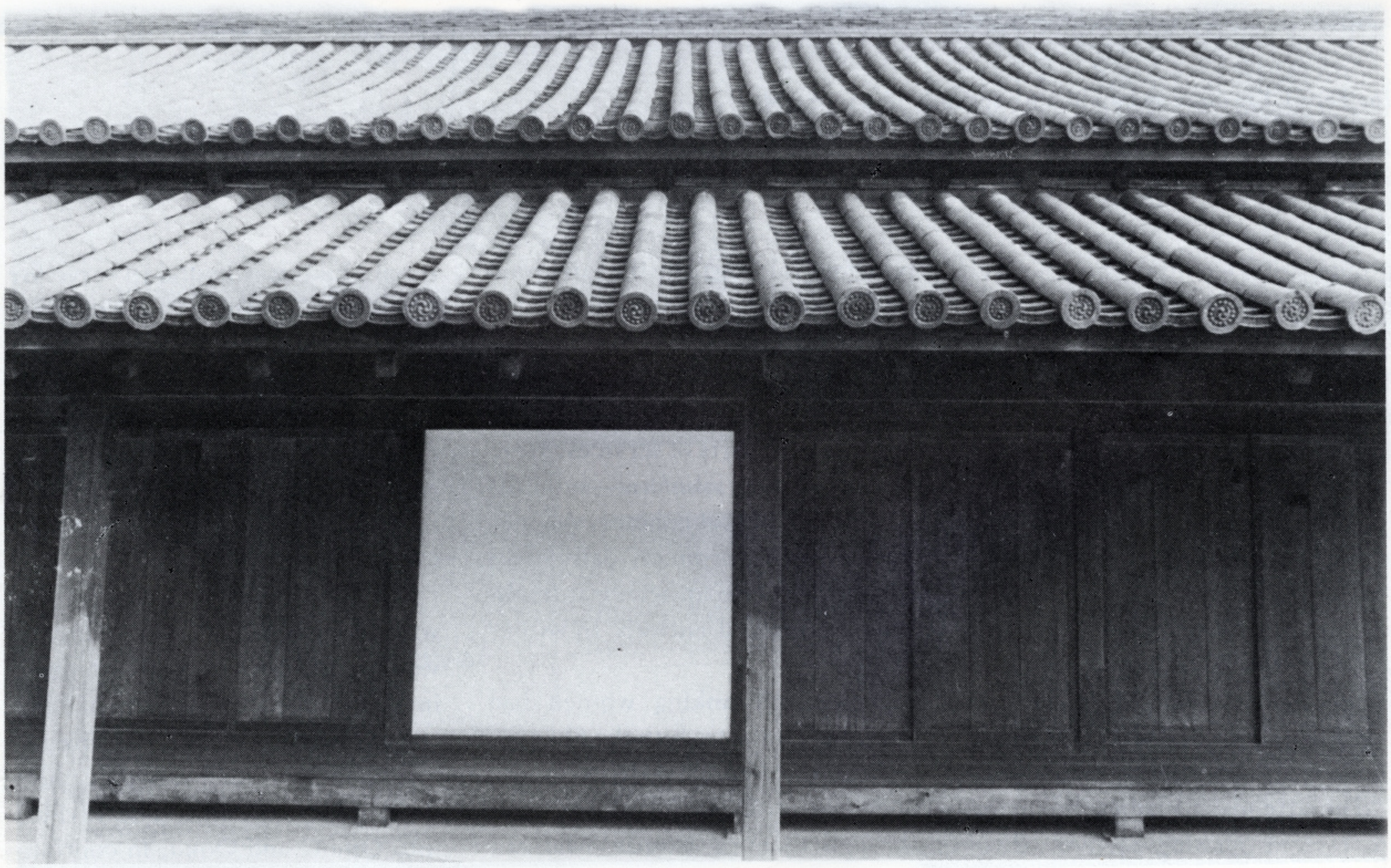
Besides the inner citadel, there were nineteen donjons standing against the sky, but only three are left.

The extent of the outer moat embraced the entire town of Edo at that time—all the homes of

Inui Mon, the northwest gate, from the inside. Moats run along either side of the road; pheasants come out on some days.

samurai and townsmen built to encircle the castle. The town centered around the class of craftsmen in the area now called Kanda,

Headquarters for the samurai who guarded Edo Castle



which naturally developed into the present-day business center for small and medium-sized business enterprises. The merchant class lived around what is now Nihonbashi and Kyobashi, where the tallest buildings of leading Japanese businesses are now standing.

The settlement within the outer moat fulfilled pretty much all the functions of a castle town. From the 16th century onward, castles in Japan were no longer built for defence purposes only. Castle towns developed into communities with a castle in the center, and the lord of the castle boasted of the economic power and the expertise of craftsmanship in the town as demonstrations of his power and glory as ruler. Of all these, Edo was the finest.

There were altogether 92 gates to the castle along the castleward side of the outer and inner moats spanned by bridges.

The plums lining this road give it the name Bairin-zaka, "Plum Forest Lane."

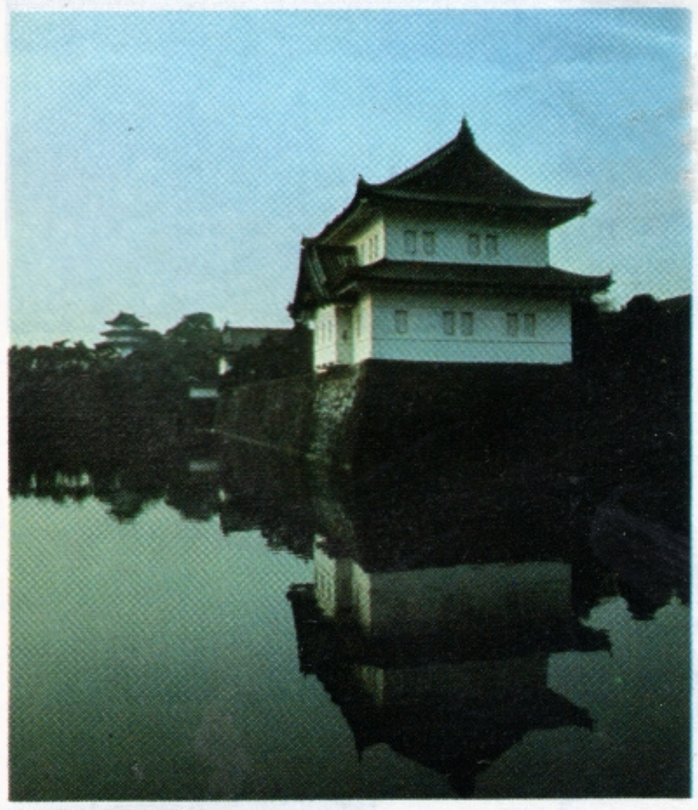
The sixty-six gates along the inner moat were the most important points of defence, guarded by the daimyō themselves. Twenty to thirty guns and an ample supply of arrows and spears were provided for use in emergencies.

No defence is impregnable, however, and this stiff guard was broken once, if only once in the 300-year history of the Tokugawa Shōgunate. In 1855, near the end of the Shōgunate, a masterless samurai and some townsmen laid

After the Tenshukaku burned in the great Edo fire of 1657, it was not rebuilt for 200 years, until the Shōgunate had perished.

This painting on a folding screen depicts Edo Castle as it appeared on completion in the 17th century. The five-story building in the upper right is the inner citadel, the Tenshu-kaku; below it lies the Honmaru. Detail of "Edo-zu Byōbu," artist unknown, in possession of Hayashi Kazuo. Courtesy of Kanao Kaname.

Fujimi Yagura (Donjon)



Sakurada Nijū Yagura (Donjon)

The former site of the Honmaru has been turned into a public park, Higashi Gyoen.

elaborate plans for a robbery, (secret, unfortunately, and we have no idea what the plans were). One of them entered the castle several times and copied designs of the keys to a safe guarded by twenty officials. Another of the group made copies of the keys which they used to break in, stealing the massive sum of 4,000 ryō. Two of these daring thieves were later caught and were put to death on a cross two years later.

Some of the gates had specialized functions. Hirakawa Mon was also called Fujō Mon, the

"unclean gate," because those who had died or committed crimes inside the castle were removed through this single exit. In 1701, when Asano Takumi no Kami pulled his sword on Kira Kōzuke-nosuké and was sentenced to seppuku for shedding blood in the castle (the incident that triggered the famous vendetta by the 47 Loyal Rōnin), he was sent out of this gate to carry out the sentence. The same gate was also called Otsuboné Gomon since the attendant women (*tsuboné*) of the castle went in and out this way. The imperious Kasuga no Tsuboné (see Vol. VII No. 6) who as a wet nurse to the third Shōgun Iemitsu, enjoyed much power—it was she who was responsible in great part for establishing the institution of Ōoku—once missed the curfew and when she returned to the castle after a visit outside found the gate closed. She demanded that the guard open the gate but he refused, and she had to spend a cold winter night outside the gate.

The Shōgun spent his 24 hours a day in this castle according to a carefully regulated schedule. Customarily he arose at six every morning. When the time came, his page sleeping in the adjoining room voiced the syllable "Mōoo!" as a signal for the Shōgun to get up. The Shōgun washed himself and went to the room in Ōoku where the Buddhist shrine was kept, to worship. After this, five attendants fixed his hair or re-wound it for the day. He was shaved and given a physical examination by his attending doctors and surgeons. Breakfast came at eight with his pages in attendance. After this, the Rōjū and Wakadoshiyori, his chief advisors, presented their greetings. At nine, he went back to Ōoku and worshipped at the Shintō shrine. The remaining morning hours were devoted to study. The

Shōgun heard lectures on Confucianism by a scholar and close vassal in charge of the educational administration in the government, or he read history books containing war records by himself.

When he finished reading, he received instruction in the art of the sword from a daimyō with a special appointment as the Shōgun's kendō teacher, or practiced archery or with a spear, or he went out to the riding ground in Fukiagé to practice horse back-riding. The hours after lunch were set aside for administrative work. He received reports on matters which had been referred upward through all the officials below him, and gave final decisions on such questions as were appropriate for him to decide. He received visitors, presided over ceremonies.

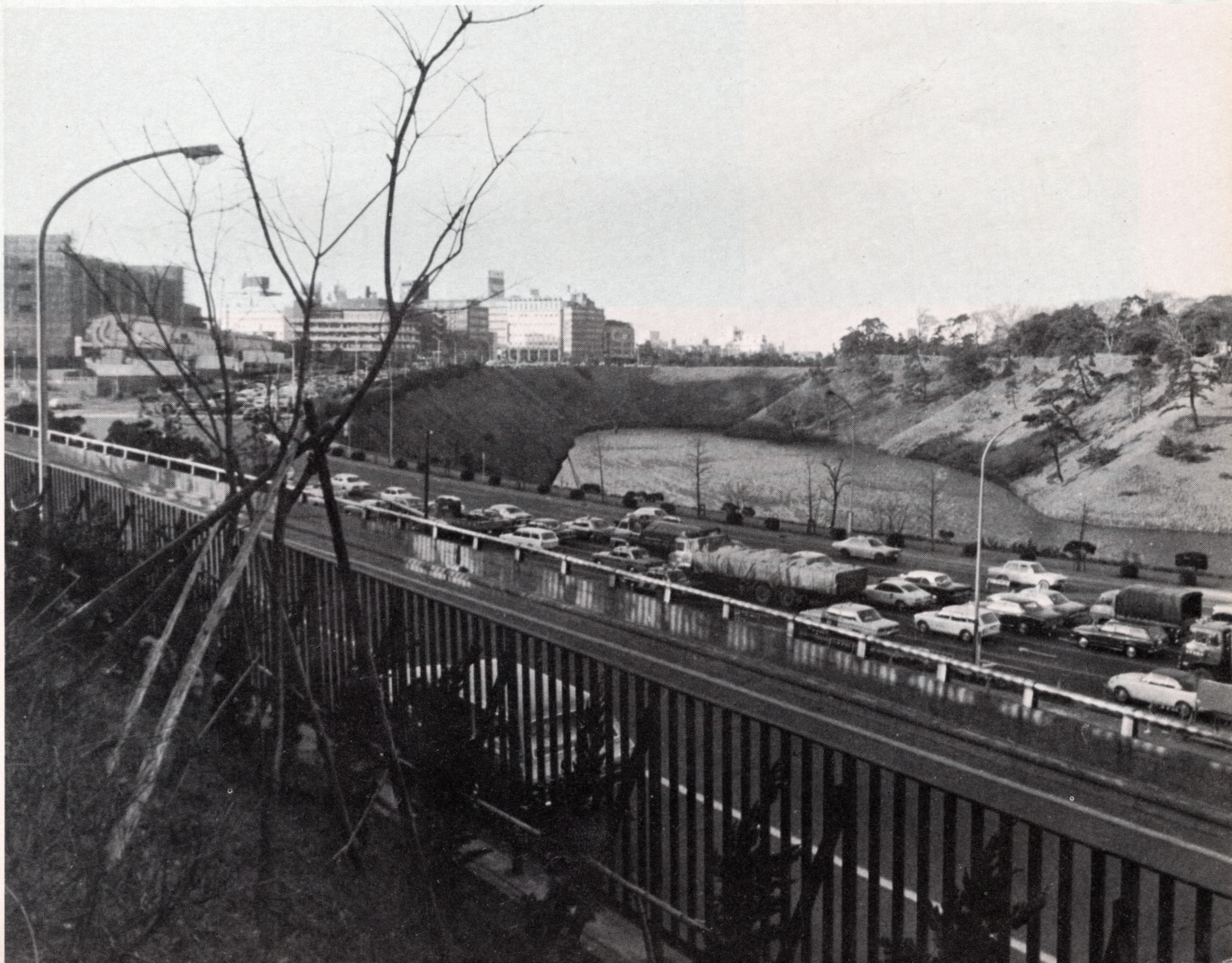
If he had time before supper, he chanted the texts to Noh plays (*yōkyoku*) for his own enjoyment or brushed characters or painted. In the evening, after a bath, he had his supper at six and then he played Go or chess with his pages, or chatted with them. He retired to his sleeping quarters at ten p.m.

* * * * *

The Edo Castle of the Tokugawas was not once attacked, surrounded or shelled for over 270 years. Only once at the very last, it was given a chance to show its defensive capacity. The new-born army of the Meiji Government marched on the castle in 1868. The last Shōgun Tokugawa Yoshinobu however, choosing to avoid a clash and the useless spilling of blood, surrendered the castle to the New Government forces.

The castle then became the Emperor's residence. The area which composed the exterior of the castle in Edo is now blotted out by high buildings and crisscrossed by the highways of a modern city. The buildings within the interior of the castle where the Emperor now lives have also been entirely remodeled. The deep inner moat and the surrounding stone wall, the three remaining donjons and several gates are the only remaining traces of the center of a world once ruled by samurai. 東

The Edo Castle of today is under constant siege by an army of automobiles.



Jigoku Zōshi: the Scroll of Hells

Handscroll, latter 12th Century
(Kamakura Period)
26.5 cm high
Nara National Museum

In the year 1052 Japan entered what is known in Buddhism as *mappō no yo* or the Period of the Waning of the Law. According to Buddhism, there are three periods of Buddhist teaching after the Buddha passes into Nirvana. The period when men follow the teachings of the Buddha and receive the blessings generated therefrom is called *shōhō*; during the period of *zōhō* some men still devote themselves to the law but no longer do they receive its benefits; *mappō* is the period of total degeneration when men can only rely on the compassion of the Buddha to save them.

The death of Buddha is generally computed at the year 949 B.C., and therefore the darkness and confusion of the latter days of the Law were to begin in 1052. In full accord with expectations, confusion and strife reigned from the latter half of the 11th century through the 12th century. Ruin visited the nobles who spent their days in luxury and vanity while the samurai class rose to a new position of power. Frightened and bewildered, people strove to accumulate merit and looked for the Buddha Amida to meet them and receive them into the Western Paradise of the Pure Land; yet at the root of the pervasive thought was a sense of sinfulness together with a feeling of the vanity of living in the latter days of the Law.

In contrast to the idea of the Western Paradise there arose the concept of hell.

Hell is what sinners face after death, where it is dark and wet like the bottom of a lake or underground. Along with Paradise, the concept was derived from old legends of India, which were transmitted to Japan. In the *Ōjō Yōshū* (Essentials of Salvation), Genshin outlines eight major hells: *tōkatsu* (等活) for taking the lives of living creatures; *kokujō* (黒繩) for crimes of

greed; *kyūkan* (叫喚), for killing, stealing, drinking; *shūgo* (衆合), sins of lust; *daikyūkan* (大叫喚), the others plus lying; *shōnetsu* (焦熱), the others plus evil thought; *daishōnetsu* (大焦熱) others plus defiling a nun or monk; and *abi* (阿鼻) all sins. Each major hell embraced a number of lesser hells so that there were about 136 places altogether. The Scroll of Hells rendered all their horrors with a vivid immediacy more than sufficient to make the fearful people more fearful. This they must face, they were told, if they continued to live as they were in the lawless age, repeating their sins again and again. The terror of hell was meant to turn their eyes toward Amida and Paradise.

Four volumes of hell scrolls containing 23 illustrations are extant. They do not all come from the same series, but were painted by different artists at different times. Line is given free rein to go whither it will and a minimum of color introduced; sharp accents of red against the somber background of shades of ink and brown seem new and almost modern.

This picture of the Hell of Cocks shows the fate awaiting those who in life were fond of fighting and who treated other living creatures cruelly. A huge bird with wings spread full across the dark grey background, flames issuing from his beak, attacks the poor sinners. The picture is rich with vibrant realism, and the flowing lines seem to have been brushed in a single burst of energy by an unusually masterful hand.

Artists of hell scrolls probably were either connected with Bureau of Painters (*Edokoro*) in the court or with specific temples, but this has not been verified. At least there is no doubt that this painting was done by one of the finest artists of the time. 園

Kanji

Formula for Longevity

The life of the sennin, a forever passed far from the madding crowd, was the ideal of the Chinese.

仙 仙

THE ANCIENT CHINESE—and the Han Chinese in particular—did not look forward to heavenly bliss in an afterlife. Being of a concrete, practical bent, they sought their happiness in a prolongation of life in this world, forever if possible. Everyone from the lowest commoner up to the Emperor tried to bribe, trick, argue or cajole the fates into yielding an extension on their earthly contract.

Social upheaval was the order of the day in the third century B.C. during the Period of the Warring States and the common people had a hard lot. But, as the Chinese say, "the rich get richer . . . ," and the nobility amassed no end of wealth, living lives of unprecedented ease while their people suffered. And still they wanted more—more years of life.

These were the times. The pursuit of longevity as a system of thought was first advertised by ascetics called *fang shih* 方士 (*hōshi*) from the northern coast of the Shantung 山東 Peninsula who claimed that the mastery of certain special skills, which they knew all about, would endow the ardent practicer with long life and that by these methods some had already achieved immortality. The Shantung Peninsula was a convincing location: from there one looked off across the Pohai 勃海 Bay whence mysterious mirages often appeared to startle and amaze. Word of their wonderful teaching spread quickly to every province in China and attracted the belief of a great many people.

The fang-shih affirmed that if a man followed the rules of temperance and personal care which they outlined, he would live far beyond the usual lifespan and never grow old. These who mastered this method were called *sennin* (*hsien-jên*) 仙人; the sennin were purported to be passing their days, in perpetual youth, and ignorant of sorrow, on three sacred mountains somewhere far off in the eastern sea. The ideal was a life alone far removed from the jangling worries of the decadent secular world.

A fourth century book which discourses the important exercises the sennin hopeful must follow daily outlines a special method of breathing. Breathing was particularly stressed by the adherents to this idea. Draw in your breath slowly and collect it in your lower abdomen; gradually increase the time until you can count to 120 before letting it out. Not only will you augment the years of your life, but you will be freed from the visitations of dire diseases, and should you receive a wound, the bleeding will soon stop.

Imbibing the proper elements was emphasized as much as breathing control, and sennin prized a drug made of capsules of various metallic substances including gold —an elixir of immortality—over all other medicines, though they also practiced strict control of drinking and diet, not to mention charms, spells, and magic.

The nobles of the Period of Warring States did not treat the fang-shih as crazy eccentrics but took their words very seriously, practicing the strange, complex methods they set forth and looking forward to the promised prolongation of life expectancy.

Shih Huang-ti 始皇帝 of Chin 秦, who finally unified the warring states under one rule, was infatuated with the idea of a paradise of immortals, and he sent several thousand young girls and boys with a fang-shih named Hsü Fu 徐福 to sail out in the eastern sea to find the mountain and obtain some of the precious life-giving substance which the immortals knew. Later legend has him bumping into Japan out in the eastern ocean and landing at the foot of the mountains of Kumano (see Vol. IX No. 1).

The ideal of leaving human society for the deep mountains to practice austerities and incantations as a means to immortality was incorporated with all the superstitions, folk beliefs and primitive medical knowledge of early China and finally with the philosophical teachings of the great teachers Lao-tzu 老子 and Chuang-tzu 莊子 to become the religion known as Taoism 道教 (*dōkyō*), Tao 道 meaning the "path" or "way."

The character used to indicate the followers of the Path who had achieved the deathless state, 仙, *sen,* is composed of two elements. 亻 is the human 人 radical and 山 is what it looks like; a mountain: thus, people who live on mountains 仙. This Kanji was later used

Just Wait'll You See It

LAND IN JAPAN these days is precious. Not only is it precious, it is unavailable. And so are places to live on the land. Every day the newspapers carry ads for land to build on or palatial mansions or resort homes (and every day the prices go up). All these places sound like the next best thing to heaven on earth with their "quiet surroundings in clean, clear air" and "beautiful land with a perfect view of Mt. Fuji, just ten minutes from the station."

Who wouldn't jump at Elysian Fields like these? Certainly you do, and the price is about what everyone is paying these days anyway so you call up your wife or fiancée and go down to have a look at it. But.

Sure, the air is clear and the location quiet. The house sits on a cliff that is certain to disintegrate underneath when the next rainy season comes around; and true you can barely make out Mt. Fuji on one of the three clear days of the year but you can only make it to the station in ten minutes if you drive full speed in your sports car when there's not another car on the road (never happens). Or it would be ten minutes as the crow flies but not being a crow it takes you forty to wind down around the mountain. Or it's ten minutes to the bus stop from the station and God knows where the bus takes you from there.

"Good grief!" you say and drag your feet numbly back to your one-room flat over the soba restaurant. Your one consolation is that it's happened to everybody. *Kiite goku-raku mite jigoku,* きいてごくらくみてじごく. "Heaven when you hear about it, hell when you see it." き, *ki* comes from 幾. Wonder how they knew about this in the old days?

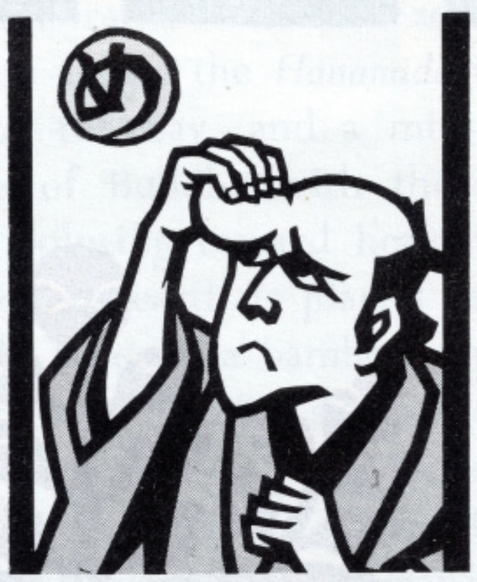
Back in the days of the Sengoku Jidai when everybody and his brother was trying to take over the nation, a tiny slip could mean utter ruination, the loss of your land, the loss of your family, and most finally, the loss of your life. In the 16th century, Imagawa Yoshimoto, lord of a huge domain in Suruga (Shizuoka Prefecture), led a great army on a march toward Kyōto. On the way he passed through the territory of a young insignificant lord named Oda Nobunaga in what is now Aichi Prefecture. Fully confident, Imagawa set up camp in the basin of Okehazama, right smack in the middle of Nobunaga's domain. His troops were breaking out saké and digging into their picnic lunches when Nobunaga fell on them and wiped them out. (See Vol. VII No. 7.)

Imagawa's attitude was "Who cares if they do come? Nobunaga could never touch us." He forgot that "incautiousness is your worst enemy"—ゆだんたいてき, *yudan tai-teki*. *Yu,* ゆ, comes from the character 由. Samurai left behind the wisdom gained through painful experience in this maxim.

The next Iroha card suggests a most picturesque image: "the lump above your eye," めのうえのこぶ, *me no ue no kobu*. *Me,* め, developed from 女.

The lump that hangs down over your eyes is an eyesore, a nuisance, an irritation. But you can't do anything about it. It's kind of like, say, a rival who not only ranks above you but does everything better than you do. No matter what you do he always stands in the way. You should not have any difficulty applying this phrase.

Enough said. 東



from Edo Iroha published by Shinsen-sha
Cut paper illustrations by Takidaira Jiro

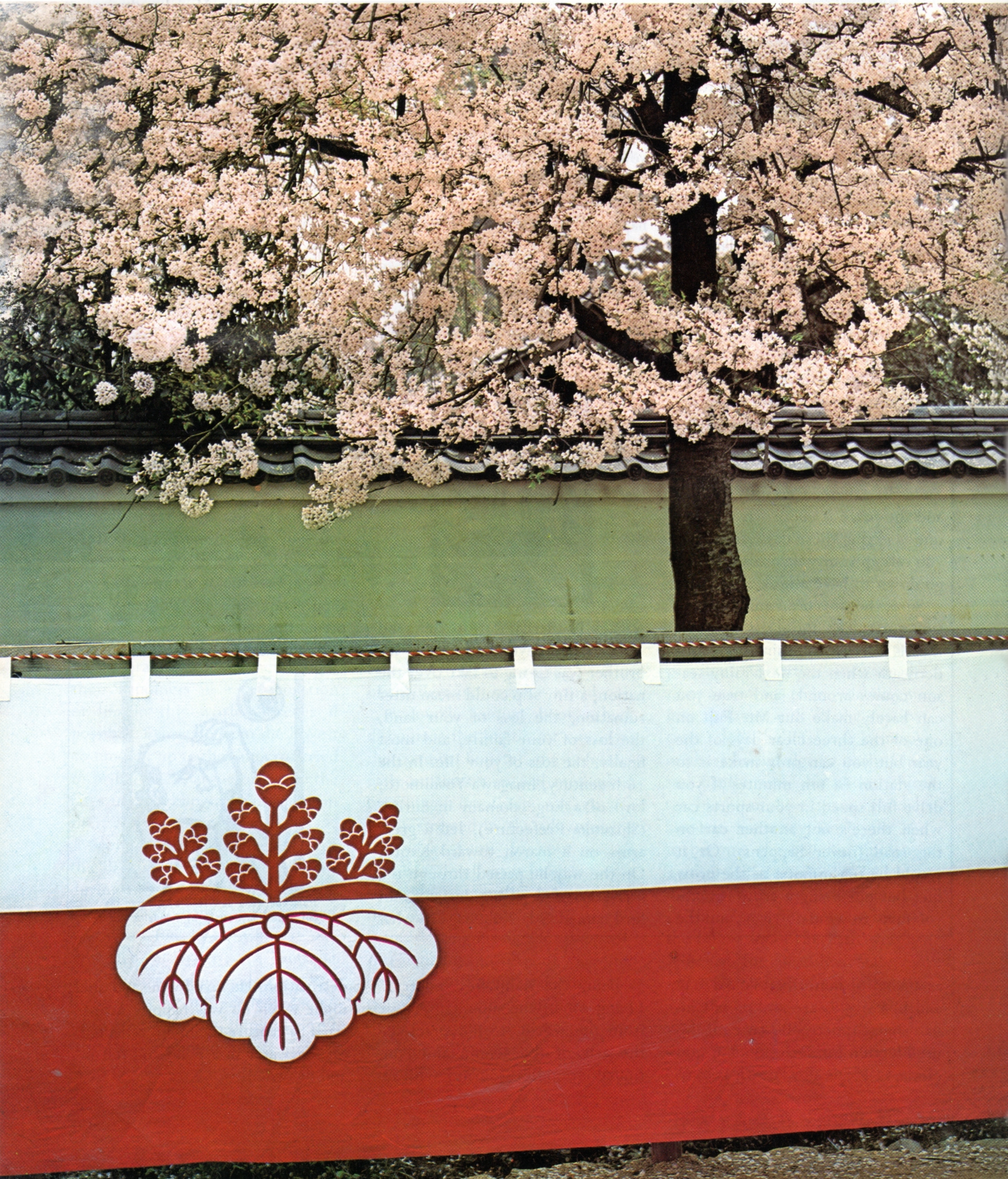
as a kind of honorific. Tu Fu 杜甫 and Li P'o 李白 are ranked as China's finest poets. Because of his predilection for seclusion and quietude, Li P'o is also known as 詩仙, 詩 being the Kanji for "poetry." Living off in the mountains away from the world, Li P'o practiced the arts of the sennin and continued an endless journey with no destination. He loved wine and one night when he was happily drunk tried to capture the moon reflected on the water in a pond and fell in and drowned. 東

The Calendar Year

April

lowers of April are the lovely cherry blossoms.

Photograph by Iwamiya Takeji



In APRIL, when cherry blossoms are just about to bloom, a light mist often puts a haze over the morning sunlight. There are clouds in the sky, yet no raindrops fall. Instead, occasional sunbeams find openings to shine through in shimmering rays and we call the weather *hana-gumori*, or "flowery mist". The average temperature for this month in Tōkyō over the last five years has been 15.3°C, a very comfortable clime that encourages people to enjoy life and the season with parties under the beautifully blossoming cherry trees, drinking *saké* and tasting the delicious foods of the season. Sometimes, however, a sudden gust rises to shake the trees and scatter the cherry petals mercilessly. The spring gust is listed as one of the themes that identifies the season as spring in Haiku.

Vast and so blue
Mt. Fuji looms misty
In the gusts of spring.

Arrivals and Departures

APRIL IS the first month of the fiscal year for businesses and government bureaus in Japan. The fiscal year in Japan begins in April and ends in March of the next year. Some of the fortunate receive promotions and move to posts in distant places during this month. Students advance to higher grades or enter new schools, and some teachers are moved to schools in other areas.

When someone whom we know moves away, we customarily present him with a gift of money or article as *senbetsu*. The origin of senbetsu goes back to days of old when people gave cash to a man who was setting out on a journey so that the man would have enough money to cover his travel expenses. Because of the nature of this present, it is not necessary to send senbetsu to a person of superior position who is going away. You need only see him off politely. If a man of insignificant position were to go to great pains to collect a large sum of money and present it to an executive member of his company going away to a new post, he would invite a good share of guffaws and perhaps not a little suspicion with regard to his ambitions. If, however, the man who is going is special to you, someone who has done much for you personally in the past, you might wish to express your friendship and gratitude to him, and in such a case, some nice little article expressing your sincere feelings would be much more suitable than cash.

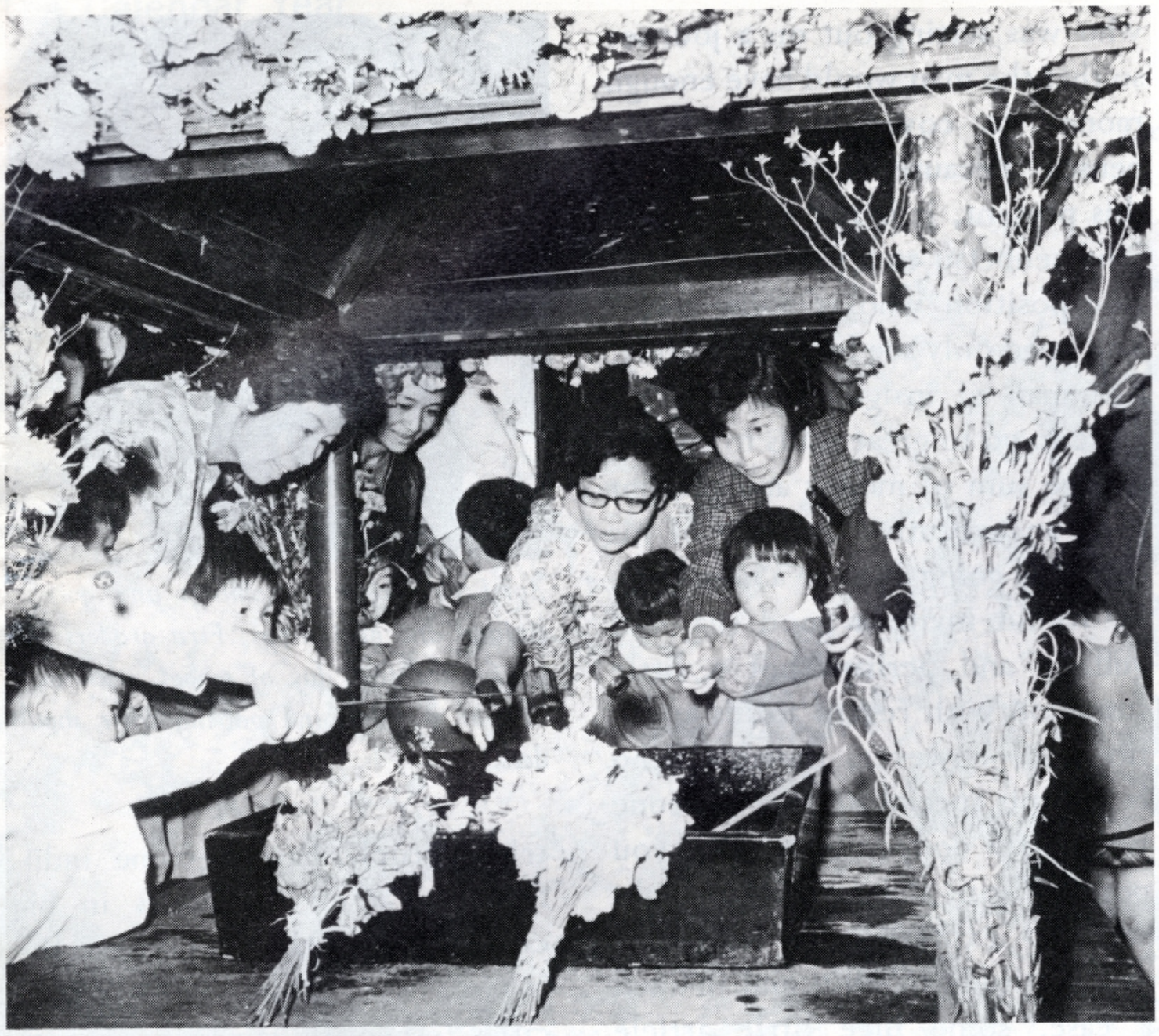
On the other hand, the nature of senbetsu being what it is, one who has received such a gift is not required to make any return present. A letter reporting one's safe arrival to the giver and expressing cordial thanks is sufficient.

But before doing that, for the newcomer, it is more important to greet and get acquainted with his neighbors at the new post. Until quite recently your neighbors were defined as those living in five homes around you; three across from your house and one on either side of you—*mukō sangen ryō-donari*. Usually you would take five to ten postcards or towels with you as tokens of friendship and go around introducing yourself and asking them to welcome you to the neighborhood. Such courtesy is observed only in the countryside now, or if in Tōkyō only in areas where old traditional customs are very deep-rooted, such as in the old downtown Edo district. People have become indifferent to their neighbors in big cities. Most of the people now living in Tōkyō, Osaka and such large cities, especially young people, to the dismay of older people, do not know or practice traditional etiquette.

April is a time of comings and goings, endings and beginnings. First graders line up for the first day of school, with their Mamas right behind patting their shoulders.

Hanamatsuri

APRIL 8TH, the *hanamatsuri* or flower festival, is said to be Buddha's Birthday. In a Buddhist temple yard, a small, provisional temple decorated with all sorts of flowers called the *Hanamidō* is set up for the day, and a miniature statue of Buddha with the right hand pointing toward heaven and the left to earth is placed inside. People take up a bamboo dipper, fill it with *amacha,* syrup from a kind of hydrangia, and pour the liquid on Buddha's head in homage three times. The Hanamido recreates the scene of Buddha's birth from the side of his Mother Maya under a linden tree, and the practice of pouring amacha on his head comes from the legend of the nine-headed dragon that brought the purest water from heaven to bathe the new-born Buddha. In an



Hanamatsuri, the flower festival

orthodox celebration, five kinds of perfume are used instead of amacha. In India where Buddha was born, this day is put aside as sacred. The observation of this day in Japan was initiated in 606 as one of the rituals to be held strictly at the Imperial Court.

The Mushiyoké Charm

PEOPLE HAVE said since days of old that you can keep worms from your house by making ink using amacha from the hanamatsuri and brushing some words for luck or the old character for *mushi* (蟲) with it. The charm should be pasted upside down on the kitchen door.

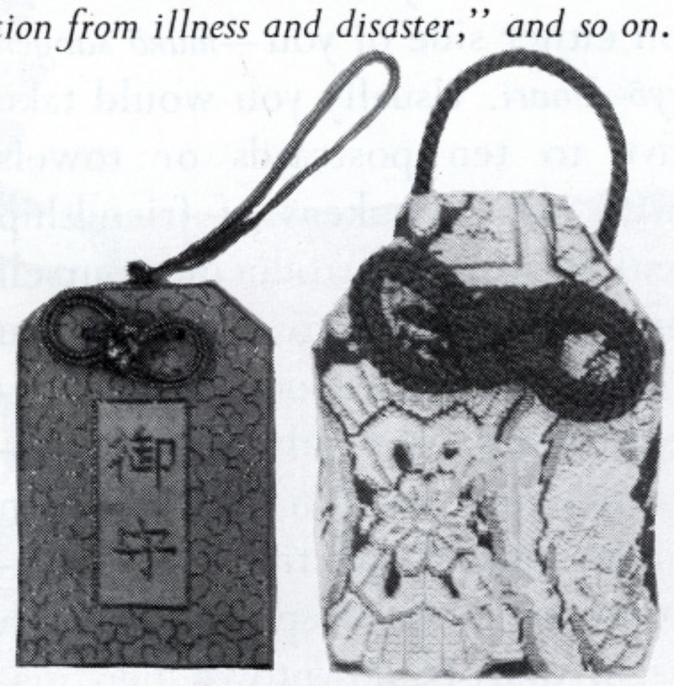
While such practices seem to have no basis in scientific fact, people tend to feel they have nothing to lose by observing them and may well have something to gain. Sometimes people you would least expect it follow these customs carefully.

Then there is the *o-mamori* inscribed with the characters *ichiyō raifuku* (一陽来福). On New Year's Day this charm is placed in the house in the direction determined by divination to be lucky for that year. The words mean, "wealth increases in this house." It is taboo to open up an o-mamori, but once I ventured to see what was inside and found that it contained pieces of *kinkan* (kumquat) and *ginnan* (gingko) skin. *Kin* (金) is gold and *gin* (銀) is silver; the pun is meant to make the family fortune.

Other similar examples are numerous. A temple built in memory of famous 16th century warrior Katō Kiyomasa, who is supposed to have fought and killed a tiger single-handed, issues o-mamori for victory with the tips of the pointed blue flag, or *shobu,* leaves inside. Just the top part of the leaf—the first part of the name shōbu sounds like *shō* (勝) meaning "victory" while the sound of the word for the whole leaf, shōbu, coincides with shōbu (勝負) signifying victory and defeat or the contest.

Entrance examinations to well-reputed universities and high schools are very difficult to pass; the chances being perhaps one out of twenty or thirty. In April many of the students who have successfully passed over the difficult threshold and entered the gates of the schools they have longed to attend, may still carry their o-mamori for passing the exam which they had with them when they were examined. They all knew that it was their own ability and not any charm or spell that would decide whether they passed or failed, but there is a weakness in every human being which makes him tend to rely on something else when help is necessary. O-mamori for entrance examinations sell well. The content of this o-mamori is an imitation coin from old times with a hole in the middle; a thread is tied through the hole. The thread that goes "through" the hole is supposed to get the student "through" the examination. 東

O-mamori are sold at shrines for all kinds of specific purposes: "safety from traffic accidents," "peace in the home," "protection from illness and disaster," and so on.



Katsu Kaishū — An Eye for the Future in an Age of Revolution

by Yonekura Isamu

"YOU'RE A MAN with a discerning eye, you must have made some observations while you were over there in America. Let's hear what you have to say." Shōgunate retainer Katsu Kaishū had been called to Edo Castle by the Rōjū to report on his journey as Japan's first emissary to the United States of America.

A small man—barely five feet—with intensely piercing eyes, the Shōgun's emissary shrugged off the question. "There's nothing much to tell you. People are people east or west and they do what they have always done."

Occupying the most powerful position next to the Shōgun as the Shōgun's chief advisor, the Rōjū could not believe that there was nothing to read in what had represented the first page in Japanese-American diplomatic relations, and he pressed his subordinate three and four times to speak out what was on his mind. "That can't be so. You must have noticed something different."

At length Katsu Kaishū left off demurring and remarked mildly, "Well in one way that country is exactly the opposite of our own."

"How's that?"

"In America men who stand over other men, be they in the government or civilians, all possess the capability proper to their positions."

The Rōjū's eyes went large. "You, you insolent!" he spluttered. "Get out of here at once!"

For a subordinate to express anything resembling criticism with regard to a superior was absolute taboo in the minutely stratified samurai society. And the Rōjū held the highest rank of all the Shōgun's vassals while Katsu was no more than a low official. Katsu's scathing remark could only have driven the Rōjū into a rage.

Katsu Kaishū was not the ruler of a domain like the other generals we have introduced in this series and his heart did not burn as theirs did with the ambition to make the world his own. Born the son of a very low-ranking official, the blood of the common people ran thick as that of the samurai in his veins. He never knew whether he would eat the next day or not; poverty was his way of life. Yet his outstanding capability as sailor and navigator, the product of a driving desire to learn and to learn Western military science in particular, and a keen ability to perceive the direction being taken by a violent age, forced the Shōgunate to rely upon him in its days of crisis. They had cause to be grateful for his pure diligence in study without regard for getting ahead in the world and for the extraordinary character of a most unordinary man.

The combined forces of men from many parts of the country who wanted for one reason or another to fell the Tokugawa Shōgunate which had continued its rule for 270 years shook the Shōgunate to its very foundations; then they administered the final blow in an attack on the Shōgun's headquarters in Edo Castle. History would undoubtedly have proceeded so regardless of any one or few men. But if it had not been for one resolute, idealistic bushi, the gutters of the city of Edo would surely have run deep with blood in that onslaught, and countless innocent would have died. Indeed it might have been infinitely worse. France might have come to the aid of the Shōgunate and England brought her military power to assist the anti-Shōgunate forces to turn the battle into a war of some magnitude. Though a Shōgunate representative, Katsu Kaishū was still able to discern the reason and the unreason

in the claims of the enemies of the Shōgunate and to act judiciously and rationally. He was responsible for engineering the surrender of Edo Castle without bloodshed. You could say that Katsu Kaishū saved his country from a lethal split and passed the baton on safely to the new Meiji Government and the new age. His figure looms large on the stage of Japanese history.

As the last in the series on great generals of Japan, we would like to introduce this intriguing personality who stands out in the exciting age of revolution full of men with fascinating stories. It will be in two parts, in this and the following issue.

Well Acquainted with Poverty

In JANUARY OF 1823, the first son was born in Edo to an insignifican official under a hatamoto (direct feudatory) of the Tokugawa Shōgunate. While the Katsu family were samurai by station, the title barely exceeded the name since they received almost no income from the Shōgunate and barely managed to eke out an existence. They could not even afford the pounded rice cakes for New Year's which is like having no stockings for Christmas. His father's job was as minimal as his income. Called *Kobushingumi* (小普請組), it gave him the responsibility for replacing a tile if a stiff wind blew one off the roof of Edo Castle and mending fence when a crack appeared in the castle walls.

Nor did their family tree offer any fruit for bragging. Katsu's mother's family had been retainers of the founder of the Tokugawa Shōgunate Ieyasu but only of the lowest order. His great grandfather had bought the rank of samurai with money when lower class bushi fell into poverty in the later Edo Period. He was actually a commoner.

Kaishū's father Kokichi had gained his present insignificant post by selling the land his house stood on. But the wild Kokichi was always running off to wander from province to province, living little better than a beggar, and it is no wonder that he did not make much of a success of his job. He ultimately gave it up altogether to spend his time mixing with the local roughnecks and running a tool shop on the side.

But when Kokichi found himself with a son and heir, he, perhaps predictably, began to pin all the dreams he had never realized on his eldest boy.

Zen and the Sword

"ZEN AND THE art of the sword were my foundation, and they certainly held me in good stead later on," Kaishū recalled in latter years. Katsu really went about his sword practice with a vengeance. He put himself through intense training that lasted from his 13th year until he was a little over twenty. Settling into a kendō school at a temple in Asakusa, he practiced under his teacher Shimada Toranosuké until he sweated blood. He spoke of it as an old man.

". . . During the coldest part of winter after practicing all day at the hall, every evening wearing just one layer of cotton clothing I would go seven kilometers away to Oji Shrine as my teacher recommended. I practiced at night there. I always sat first of all on one of the stones the shrine pillars rest on to strengthen my mind and spirit, then I would jump up and wield my sword for awhile, then sit again to temper my mind and again. . . . I did this five or six times a night, until dawn when I returned to the training hall for the day's practice. In the evening I would go to Oji Gengen. I never missed either once."

"From time to time two or three others from the school would come along for the night practice but the cold and fatigue always got to them and in the middle they would go beat on the door of some neighboring farmer demanding a place to sleep. But simple me, I just kept on practicing."

Katsu took his teacher's words to heart: "In order to attain true mastery in kendō you must begin with Zen." For four years from the age of 19 he visited a Zen temple with earnest regularity and underwent discipline. He found that his teacher had been right.

"If all you can think of is winning, when it comes to a real fight, you will lose your head, your heart will pound, you will make missteps, failing to move forward when you should move forward or fall back when you should retreat; you will make fatal mistakes. At the same time, if you are on the defensive and concerned only with protecting yourself, your spirit will weaken and fail you; this the enemy will be quick to perceive and to take advantage of."

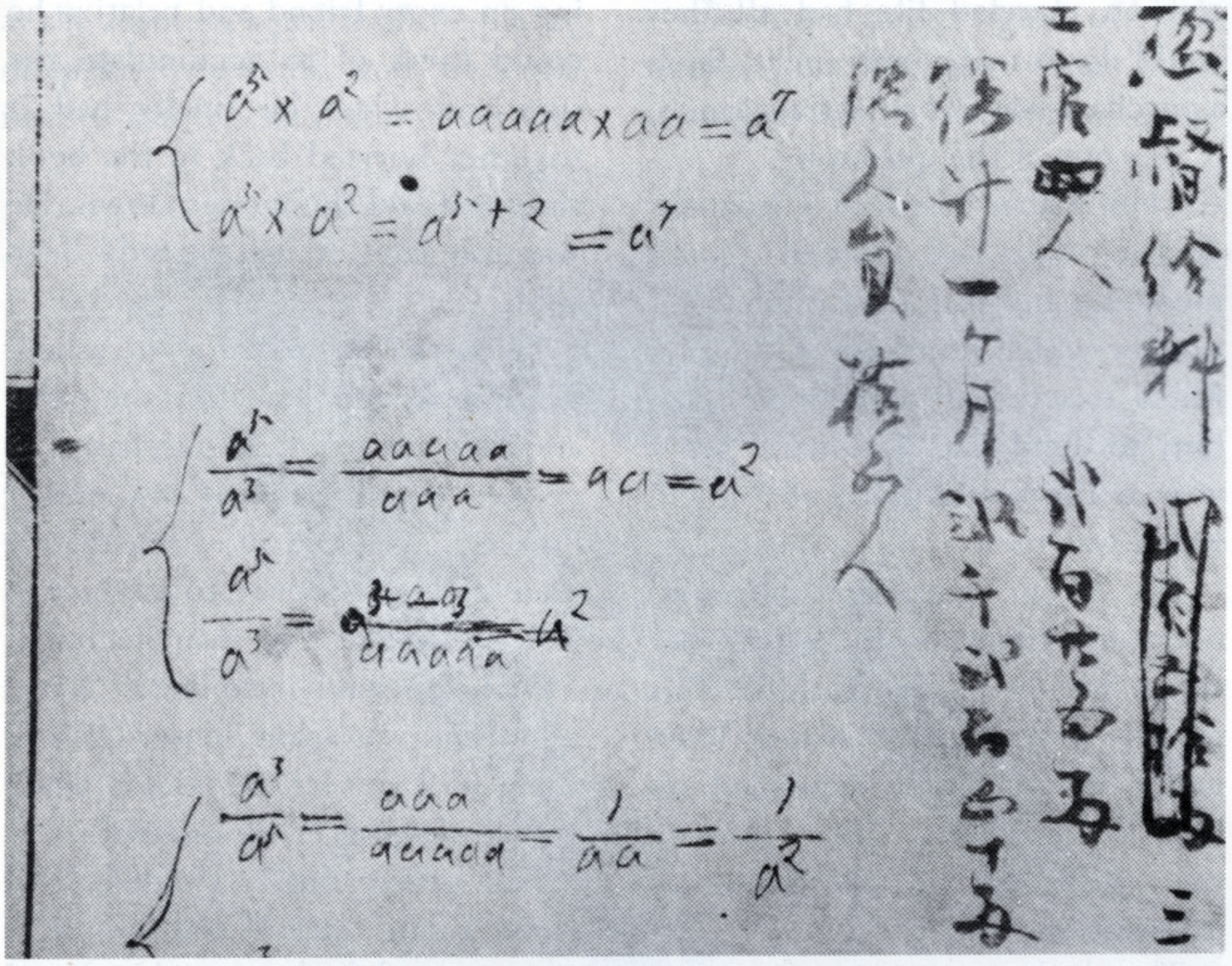
Also, "I came to understand how men's minds work, and I always thrust any thought of winning or losing from me and met my opponent with heart and mind clear and void of emotion. Thus it was that whenever I encountered antagonists, small such as ruffians or assassins or large as in the days when the Shōgunate crumbled, I could dispatch them with composure." Even allowing for exaggeration in his words, it is a fact that Katsu Kaishū received his diploma from his teacher at the age of twenty and began offering his services as in-

structor at a number of daimyō residences in Edo.

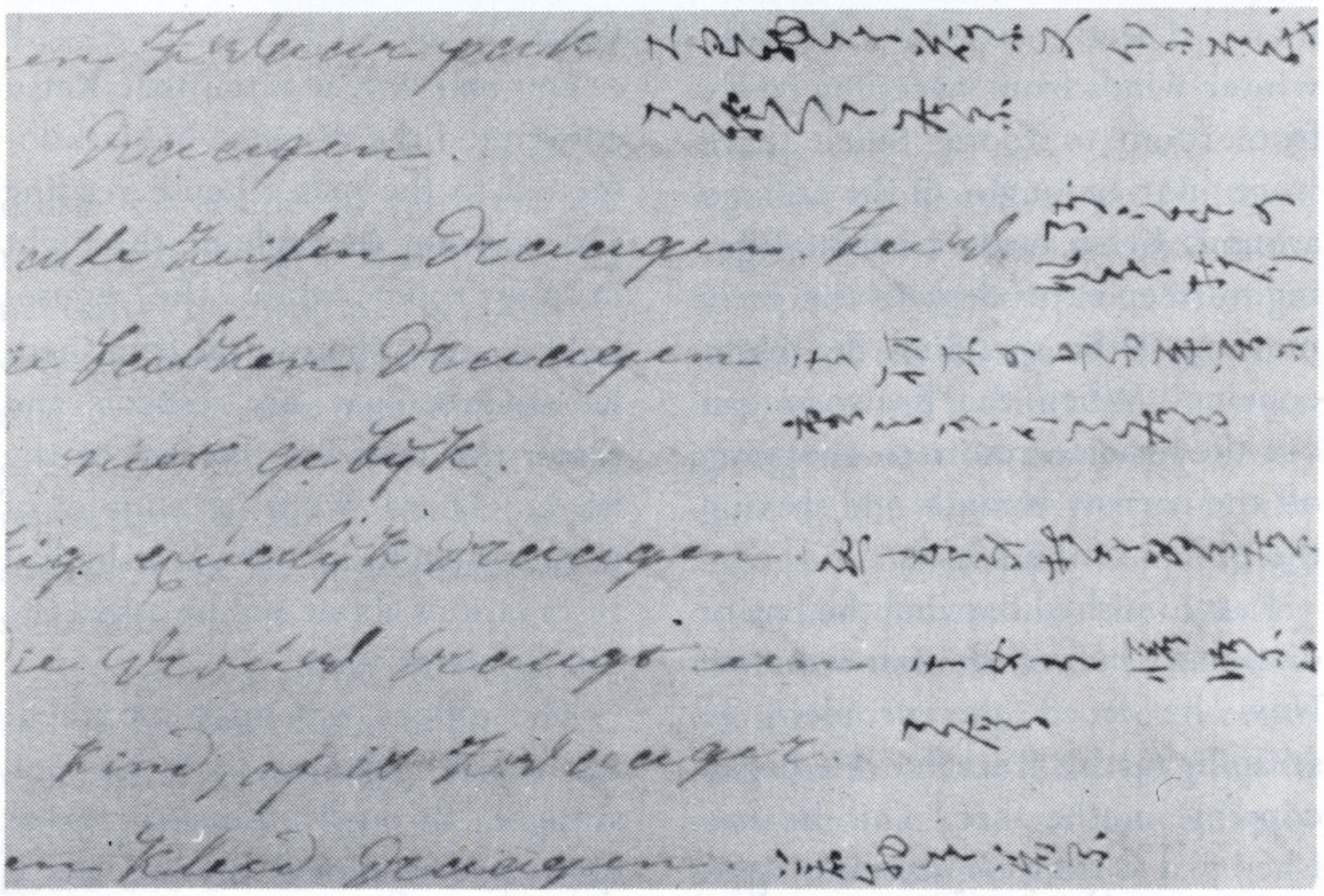
Katsu Kaishū did not, however, stop with attainment of the art of the sword. No one was more aware than he that the age was not one of the sword alone. Along with kendō, Katsu was pursuing another study that was to shape his life significantly—the new "Dutch learning."

Reading from Right to Left

ABOUT THIS TIME the young Katsu saw his first cannon. A present from the Dutch Factory to the Shōgunate, it had been placed on display in Edo Castle. Throughout the better than two centuries of self-enforced isolation, the Shōgunate had permitted the Dutch



A page of notes from the days of Katsu's diligent pursuit of Western studies.



A page from the 58-volume Dutch-Japanese dictionary Zuufuharuma *which Katsu could not afford to buy and so borrowed for a year and copied—twice!*

Katsu captained the Kanrin-maru *on her voyage to America when he was 38.*

alone to maintain commerce with Japan, allowing them to settle only on the (man-made) island of Deshima off Nagasaki. Almost all of Japan's knowledge of the West was channeled through this narrow passageway until late in the Edo Period.

Katsu was enthralled with the amazing Western weapon. What took his eye especially were a group of marks inscribed laterally along the muzzle. The letters he could not read in a language he had never heard, letters read not up to down like Chinese or Japanese but across, imprinted themselves on his brain. Without weapons like this, he realized instantly, Japan could never defend her coastlines from foreign invaders. In order to make weapons like this, moreover, one would have to be thoroughly schooled in Western military science. And in order to gain that knowledge one had to be able to read the letters that read across.

Nothing was going to stop him from learning Dutch.

Young Katsu's unusual determination to conquer the world that was contained in the Dutch language arose partly from the age in which he lived and also greatly from the way in which he responded to his age. Insistent visitations by Russian, English and American ships demanding that Japan open trade with their countries were destroying the peace of more than 200 years. A certain few of the samurai whose eyes were open to the changes of the changing period, who faced the new situation head-on, realized that whether the country was to be opened or the policy of isolation continued, the national defenses would have to be fortified.

Katsu Kaishū did not merely fall within this enlightened group; he perceived the necessity more strongly than anyone else. Unlike his father, Katsu cared nothing for personal gain or promotion. Western military science seemed the means to meet the need and Katsu was avid to learn. He began his study of Dutch.

With the image of the Dutch cannon still vivid in his mind, Katsu pounded on the gate of Mitsukuri Genpo, physician, astronomer and translator for the Shōgunate and reputed to be the most knowledgeable Dutch scholar in Japan. But the scholar could not be bothered. "Edo people are too short-tempered for Dutch studies, and anyhow I'm a busy man, I don't have time to teach you. You might as well give it up." And Katsu found himself dismissed.

Disappointed but not daunted, Kaishū pounded on other gates, finally entering the school of Nagai Seigai. At about the same time he married the daughter of another low-ranking official and moved a year later to a home close to his teacher in Akasaka. He was graduating from kendō to Dutch studies.

The first thing necessary for study of a foreign language is a dictionary. When Katsu set out on his foreign language study, there was only one Japanese-Dutch dictionary in print (the result of undescribably painful labors), the *Zunfuharuma*, in 58 volumes. The price ran understandably high—60 *ryō*. The young couple just setting out on married life had all they could do to make ends meet. Such a purchase was not an extravagance, it was out of the question.

Then Katsu heard of a Japanese doctor who had studied Dutch medicine and had a set of the dictionary which he treasured highly. Katsu exacted an agreement from him to lend the dictionary for a year at the rental price of ten *ryō*. Katsu was then 25.

He began copying, morning, noon and night, every word. Besides his wife and child, his parents and younger sisters lived under his roof and depended on him for a living. Their poverty that year reached the point of desperation.

They had no mosquito netting to keep off the insects in the hot summer nor doors to keep the cold winter winds from sweeping freely from room to room. Since there were not enough quilts to go around, Katsu made a habit of going to sleep at his desk in the early morning after spending the night copying. When the firewood ran out they had to resort to chopping off the narrow veranda and shaving the pillars of the house.

Katsu finished copying the entire dictionary before the year was out. Now he faced the problem of scraping up the rental fee. He began copying another set. This he finished just as the year was coming to an end and sold for the rental money.

With no money to buy books, Katsu was reduced to standing in front of book stores and scanning the publications on display. One day while thus standing and reading at a book store he discovered a newly published book on military science. He asked the price. "Fifty ryō." It was way out of his reach. But he was convinced that this was really a rare find. He had to have it.

He spent about two weeks calling on every friend and relative he could think of to accumulate the sum and when he finally had it together hurried back to the book shop and laid the money down. He was too late. It had already been sold.

"Where? To whom?" he asked. The shopkeeper gave him the name and address of the purchaser, a certain middle-ranking law officer (*yoriki*), and Katsu immediately went to his residence to ask him to sell the book. The man declined. "Will you lend it to me?" Katsu asked and was again denied. "Well then, will you let me read it while you're sleeping?" he insisted.

The officer finally yielded. "All right, I don't care if you look at it after ten o'clock at night. But I don't want it taken out of the house."

For half a year after that Katsu commuted the distance of six kilometers to the man's house, reading and copying throughout the night in one room while the household slept. When he had finished, he went to pay his respects and thank the man for the use of the book. There were a couple of points though, he said, that he had reservations about and he asked the officer about them.

The officer was open-mouthed. He had not yet even read the book straight through. Katsu's fervor quite overwhelmed him. "This is too precious a book for someone like me to own. You should have it.

It's yours."

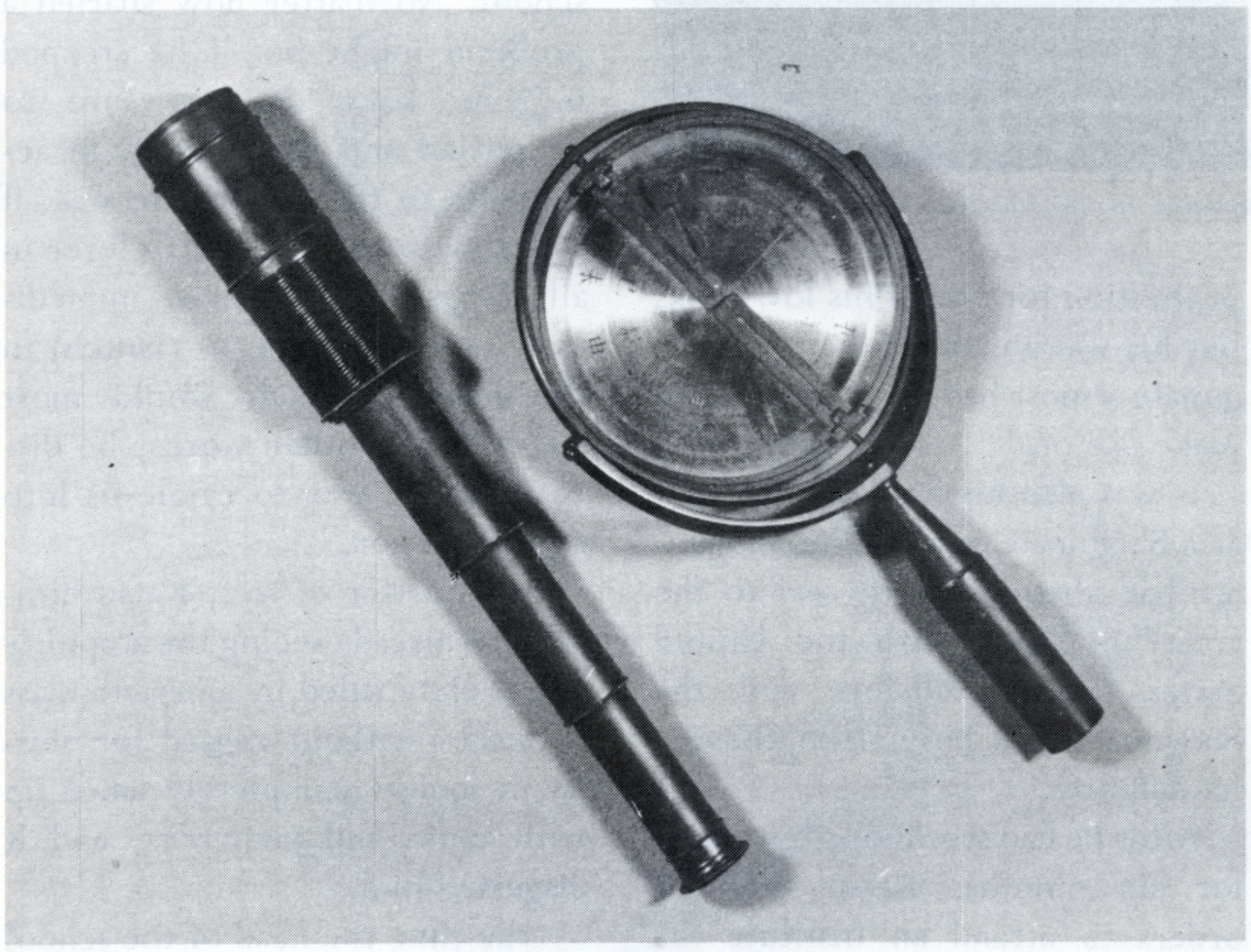
"I don't need it," Katsu declined sharply. "I've already copied the whole thing." But the officer refused to listen and Katsu went away with the book under his arm.

At 28 Katsu Kaishū opened a school at his own residence and began offering lectures on Dutch writings and Western military studies. When Katsu's friends visited him there they were appalled at the absolute squalor of the place, dilapidated outside and decrepit inside. But Katsu did not see any cause for shame in poverty. All that occupied his mind was the necessity to increase his knowledge, to learn more of the Western science that contained the key to creating a new society. He cared not a whit for the forms and poses supposed to be appropriate to a samurai.

Recognizing practical application to be every bit as important as theoretical knowledge, Katsu engaged a metalsmith to come to his house and try to forge rifles and cannon according to the methods outlined in Western books. As he began to gain a wide reputation for his demonstrated capability in military science, more and more lords began sending their young samurai to him for training. And the orders began to come in for the manufacture of cannon and rifles.

A Student Sailor

SENDING GREAT signals of black smoke into the sky, four huge steam-powered warships commanded by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794–1858) sauntered into Uraga Bay, practically into the lap of the dismayed Shōgunate, in June of 1853. After handing over a communication from the President of the United States to the Government of Japan requesting, or rather demanding, the opening of trade relations between the two countries, Perry promised to come back the next year for the reply and sauntered back out as nonchalantly as he had steamed in.



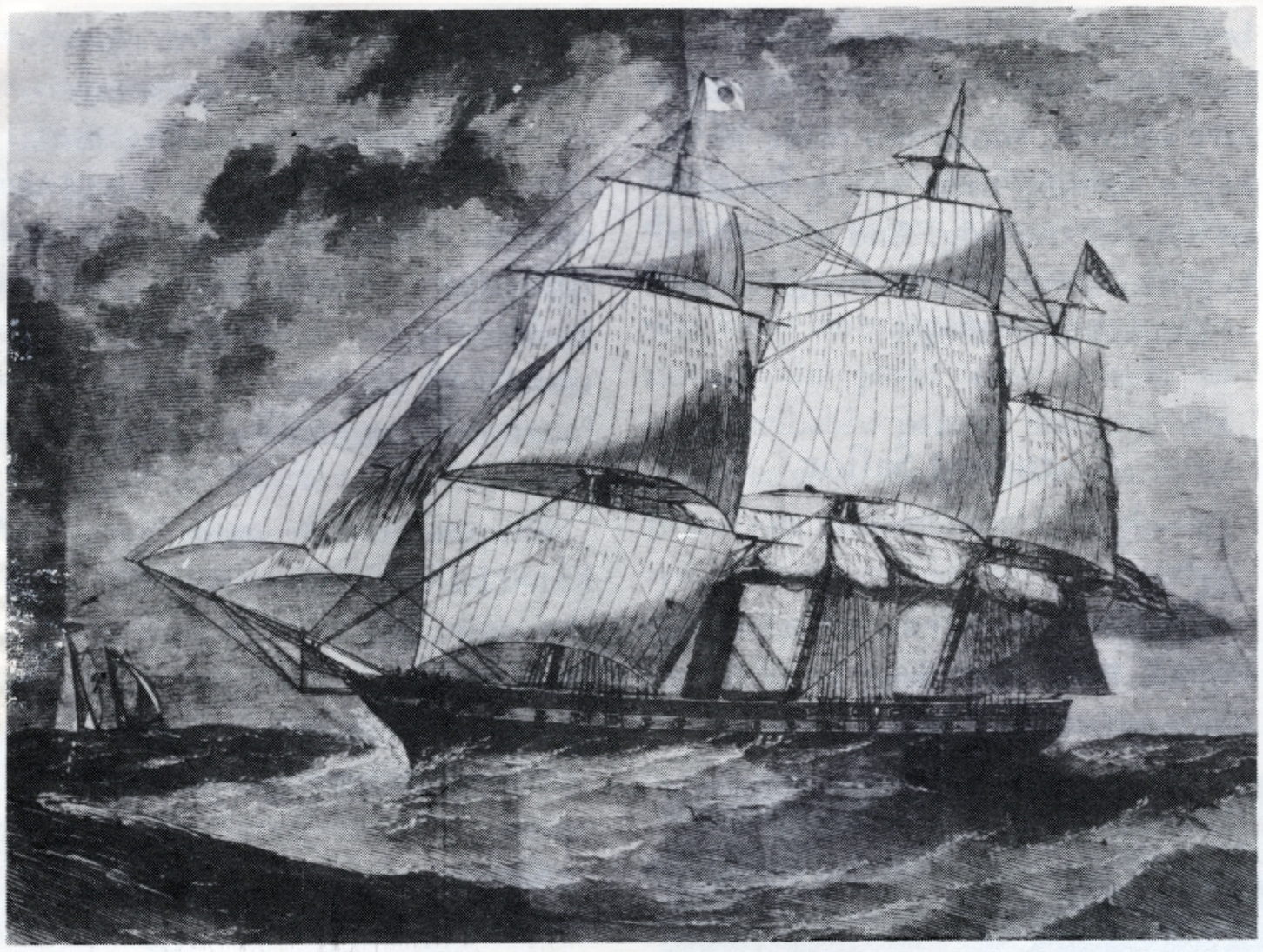
Telescope and compass used by Capt. Katsu.

His one-week visit threw the country into pandemonium. Although it had continued to exercise dogmatic power in questions of external relations since its initiation, the Shōgunate now found itself at a loss to cope with the American demands and in a flurry, it called together all the lords and vassals of the Shōgun for an unheard-of consultation. (See Vol. VIII No. 1.)

Despite his extremely low rank, Katsu Kaishū's pioneering efforts in the new arts of war had already come to the notice of the Shōgunate. Katsu found himself at last with the opportunity to express his opinion.

Around 700 written opinions were offered to the Shōgunate in response to its request for advice, but the vast majority showed a dismal lack of recognition of America's infinitely superior military power, either heatedly asserting that Japan refuse point-blank to entertain any idea of foreign commerce or suggesting in a lukewarm manner that the Shōgunate might draw out the negotiations and stall for time. Katsu did not refer to the political question of intercourse with the West at all but confined his remarks to the observations of a military specialist.

"The fact that American warships could ingress as far as the innermost part of Edo Bay without the least difficulty proves the inadequacy of our defences. We must set up cannon at locations permitting us to catch any approaching ships in a crossfire, and it is imperative that we build warships," he insisted. For this purpose four things would be necessary, he went on to say: 1) finding and making use of the most capable men and facilitating much more exchange of opinion among such people from higher and lower classes of society; 2) building sturdy ships and actively pursuing commerce with China, Korea and Russia, the profit to be



Picture of the 625-ton Kanrin-maru *which appeared in an American newspaper.*

applied toward reinforcing national defenses; 3) raising the lower class vassals of the Shōgunate from their extreme poverty and forming them into a strong Western style army; and 4) adopting a strong policy of national armament.

In short, Katsu advocated opening trade with other countries and using the resultant financial resources to strengthen Japan's sea power. Behind the program he recommended lay the recognition that equal diplomatic exchange could only take place between equally powerful countries, a view most directly in accord with the international realities of the time. But Katsu's voice still belonged to a very small minority.

We do not know how the Shōgunate reacted to Katsu's proposals. But it was certain that the Shōgunate could no longer afford to ignore its lower class vassals.

In January of 1855, when Katsu was 33 years old, he was appointed to the post of translator of the Western (primarily Dutch) books in the fief naval library at Shimoda on the southern tip of the Izu Peninsula. This was an unusual promotion for one of his low rank, but his was an ability that the Shōgunate almost had no choice but to make use of.

It was also his first appointment as a Shōgunate vassal. The Shōgunate had already put its seal to the treaty of trade with the United States the year before and the Shōgunate was busy strengthening its defences.

After he had worked as translator for six months, Katsu received orders to attend an institute for naval studies newly established by the Shōgunate at Nagasaki in Kyūshū as the head of 40 other selected vassals. Dutch officers were offering instruction to samurai in naval science, shipbuilding, gunnery, surveying, mathematics and so on.

The Dutch instructors had quite a time trying to instill the principles of modern warfare in the bushi with their totally different customs, dress, ways of thinking. They were mystified by the Shōgunate's choice of students—by lineage instead of ability—and they thought it absurd. The head of the school was a retainer of the Shōgun but he was obsessed with forms and wasted months deliberating over insignificant questions. All they could do was throw up their hands.

Vice-admiral Ridder Huijssen van Kattendijke, chief instructor at the school, recalls in his diary, "The head of the school was a real pain in the neck for us. On top of everything else, he did not know a word of Dutch." He then turns to Katsu Kaishū, "But Katsu, on the other hand, understood Dutch very well and because of his gentle, frank disposition and innate kindness, drew the trust of everyone in the school. No matter how snarled a problem might be, if he stepped in, we knew it was sure to be settled and in a way quite acceptable to the Dutch. He was, if I may say so, exceedingly clever in all things and perceived immediately how to handle us (Dutch) in the manner which would most satisfy us. In other words, he discovered the way to cajole us into a good humor."

As a matter of fact, Katsu himself was already seeing the stupidity of a society ruled by a certain class —bushi—without regard for ability, a society completely taken up with ranks and pedigrees, and it disgusted him.

One time the head of the school expressed complacent dissatisfaction with the way Katsu was handling the sailing practice. "Your practice sessions are too short, you come back almost as soon as you've left. You ought to go out further."

Katsu decided it was about time the man discovered what sailing really involved. "Well, if you think so let's do as you say," and he invited the head of the school on board.

The shore receded in the distance and a wind came up, whipping up the surf. The ship swayed violently from side to side. "Where are we? What's happening? Don't you think we'd better turn

around?" the green-faced headmaster turned pleadingly to Katsu.

"Now? Why we've hardly left land. We have a long way to go yet." Katsu returned mildly without making a step toward the helm.

"Please turn back," moaned the poor sick headmaster as he clung to the railing.

Though he may have been unable to grasp the essentials of the study his school had been founded to facilitate, the head was a stickler for enforcing the evening curfew. Samurai with a reputation to uphold had no business going out at night to play around, he firmly decided, and he saw that the gates were locked every evening. But red blood flowed through the veins of the young bushi and if they couldn't go out the gate they climbed over the walls.

One night an extremely capable youth named Enomoto Takeaki (see Vol. VIII No. 2) made too much racket breaking the spikes (to discourage intruders) on the wall as he climbed over, and he was caught. The head of the school and all his officials rushed up and began to berate him soundly. Katsu happened to be there at the time and he turned to the head. "Before you start remonstrating with the man you should first ask him whether he has mastered his studies. If he falls behind in his scholarship reproach him for that. But you have no business raising a fuss over little things like this." The head of the school was utterly cowed by the superiority of his subordinate. Thereafter the gates were left open at night.

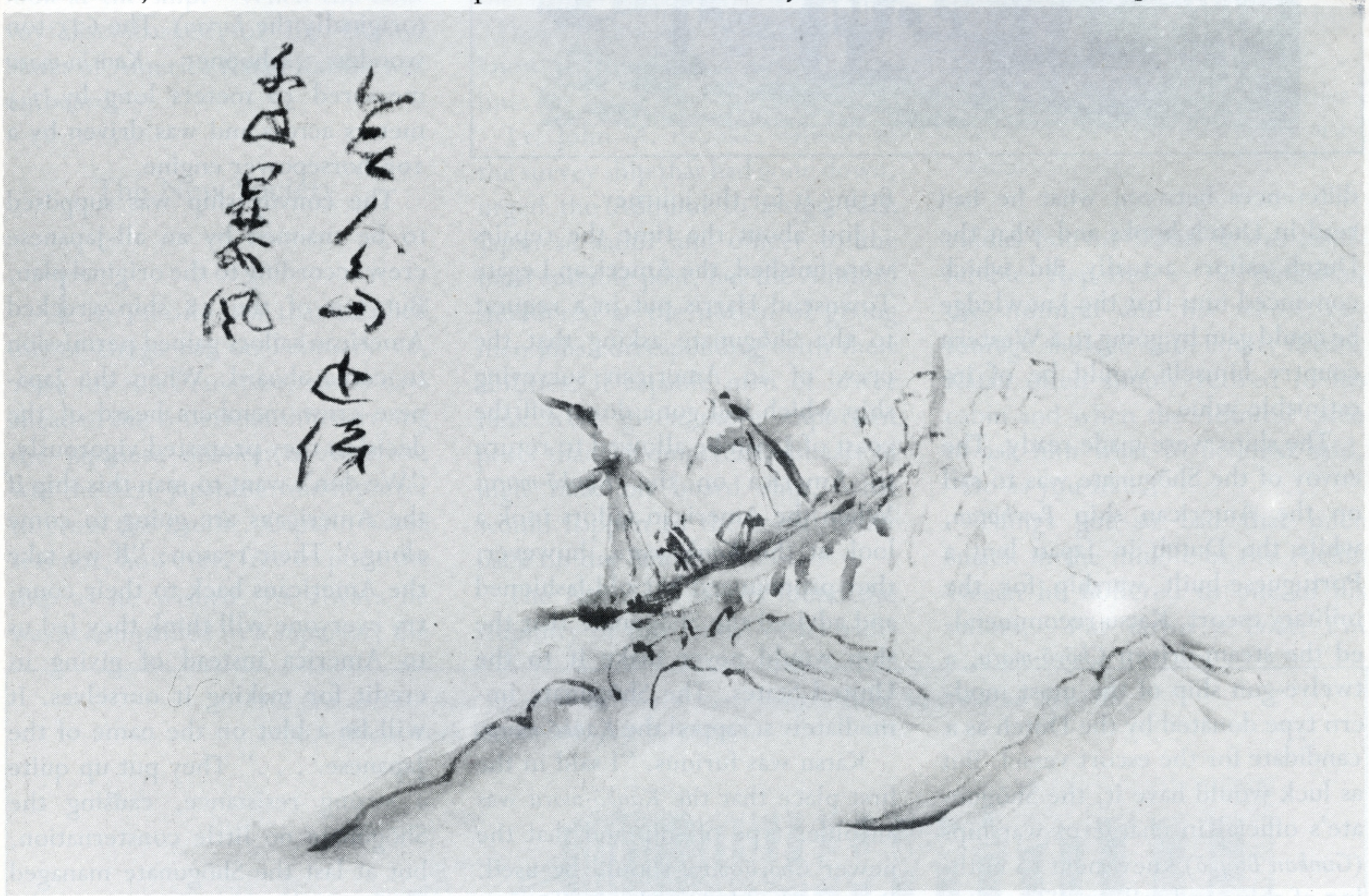
After four years at the Nagasaki institute Katsu returned to Edo at the behest of the Shōgunate to direct a naval practice school on a much wider scale than the one at Nagasaki. He was 37.

When Katsu got back to Edo he discovered the stars and stripes flying over Zenpuku-ji Temple in Azabu—the new office of the U.S. Legation.

Off to America

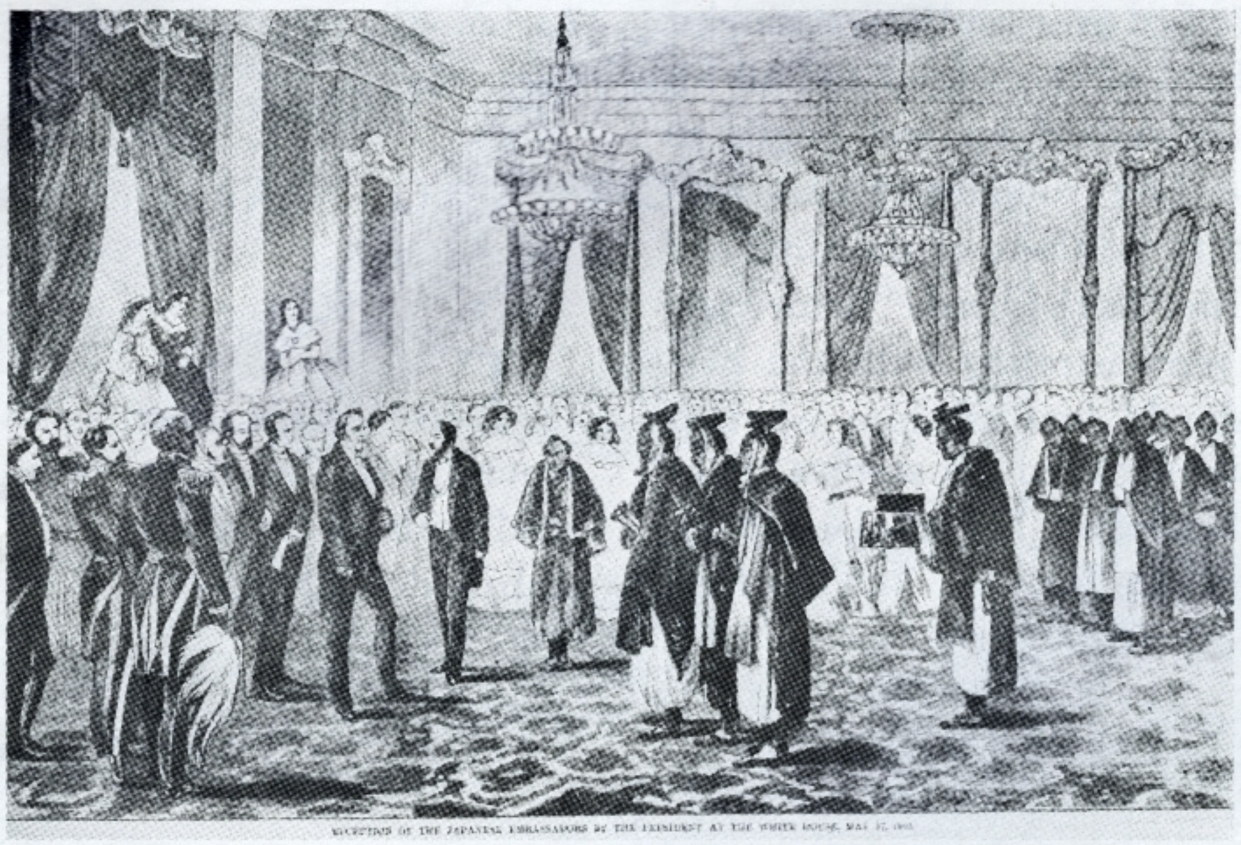
THE SHŌGUNATE looked around for the right person to send with its ambassador and vice-ambassador to provide a military escort on their journey to the United States to ratify the final treaty. The Shōgunate's eyes fixed upon Katsu Kaishū. The officials in the Shōgunate could not help but recognize in Katsu a man who knew more about Western naval and military science than anyone else in the country.

The appointment delighted Katsu. He had long awaited the chance to go abroad and see things for himself. He could see important



This ink painting brushed by Katsu himself portrays the Chōyō-maru *caught up in a storm.*

On the 28th of March, 1860, the Japanese embassy, in full ceremonial dress, met with President Buchanan. (Harper's, *May 26, 1860*)



differences between what he had read in Dutch books and what the Dutch sailors actually did which convinced him that the knowledge he could gain by going to a Western country himself would be of inestimable value.

The ships were made ready. The envoy of the Shōgunate was to sail on the American ship *Powhatan*, while the Dutch in Japan lent a Portuguese-built warship for the military escort. Katsu recommended the steam-driven *Chōyō-maru*, a twelve-gun ship of the most modern type donated by the Dutch as a candidate for the escort vessel. But as luck would have it, the Shōgunate's official in charge of warships (*Gunkan Bugyō*) knew next to nothing of ships and sailing. "The *Chōyō-maru* is too small. Use the *Kankō-maru*, it's a nice big ship," he proposed. He held a much higher rank than Katsu of course. The Shōgunate decided on the *Kankō-maru*.

The *Kankō-maru* was a slightly older style of warship than the *Chōyō-maru* but it was the same kind of ship as those used at the Nagasaki institute and Katsu knew it well so he refrained from protest and set about repairing it and outfitting it for the journey.

Just about the time the repairs were finished, the American Legate Townsend Harris put in a request to the Shōgunate asking that the crew of an American surveying ship which had gone down off the coast of Japan be allowed to return to America on the *Kankō-maru*. When the American sailors took a look at the *Kankō-maru*, however, they pronounced her old-fashioned and advised the Shōgunate that the ship would never make it to the United States. The Shōgunate immediately scrapped the *Kankō-maru*.

Katsu was furious. "I said in the first place that the *Kankō-maru* was an older type of ship and that the newer *Chōyō-maru* should be used. But you decided on the *Kankō-maru* because you said the *Chōyō-maru* was too small. Now when I've just gotten through putting the ship you wanted me to use into shape, you tell me you've changed your minds again because some Americans suggested a different ship. What is going on here? The *Kankō-maru* may be old-fashioned but it certainly got the Dutch here from Holland all right." He put up his arguments. But he ran the risk of losing the opportunity to realize his dream of going abroad if he refused to obey the order. The *Chōyō-maru* was to be readied for departure.

At the conclusion of all the commotion it was discovered that the nice modern *Chōyō-maru* had already set sail for Nagasaki and if they waited to call her back the convoy would be delayed. So the Shōgunate finally settled on an entirely different ship, a vessel of Dutch make called the *Kanrin-maru* (originally the *Japan*). The 625-ton wooden schooner *Kanrin-maru* measured 50 meters long by 7.3 meters across and was driven by a 100-horsepower engine.

The convoy ship was supposed to be manned by an all-Japanese crew according to the original plan. But ten of the 48 ship-wrecked American sailors gained permission to come aboard. When the Japanese crew members heard of the decision they protested vigorously. "We don't want to man this ship if the Americans are going to come along." Their reason: "If we take the Americans back to their country everyone will think they led us to America instead of giving us credit for making it ourselves. It will be a blot on the name of the Japanese. . . ." They put up quite a strong resistance, causing the Shōgunate no little consternation, but at last the Shōgunate managed to force the crew to accept the Americans on board. If the truth be known, the high Shōgunate officials were not exactly full of confidence in the ability of the Japanese captain and crew to sail the ship and having even one American aboard eased their minds appreciably. If by any chance an emergency should arise, the Americans would be able to handle it, they thought.

The day before his ship was scheduled to sail, Katsu developed

a fever so high he could hardly get up. But he was a stubborn man. "If I'm going to die from some ridiculous illness I'd a lot rather die on board my own ship than in bed at my house," he muttered to himself and, forcibly ignoring a headache so severe that groans escaped despite himself, he dragged his feverish body down to the wharf. To his wife he said merely, "I'm going down to Shinagawa to look at the ship." When the convoy disembarked for the United States of America Katsu Kaishū was on board.

The New Society

THE ESCORT SHIP that steamed out of Uraga Bay on February 10, 1860 for San Francisco, three days ahead of the American ship carrying the Japanese mission to America, was the first Japanese warship ever to cross the Pacific. Captain Katsu was not, however, free to pilot the ship as he wished. As always he was accompanied by a superior, the Shōgunate official in charge of naval affairs, who carried the rank of Admiral. The situation on board ship duplicated the irritating ranking system of the Shōgunate itself —the Admiral was all rank and no seamanship and consequently did nothing. When the sailors under Katsu, however, tried to carry out their duties with efficiency, their superiors would fume that they were being ignored, which caused the American sailors to snort, "Those Japanese navy officers don't know anything about naval discipline."

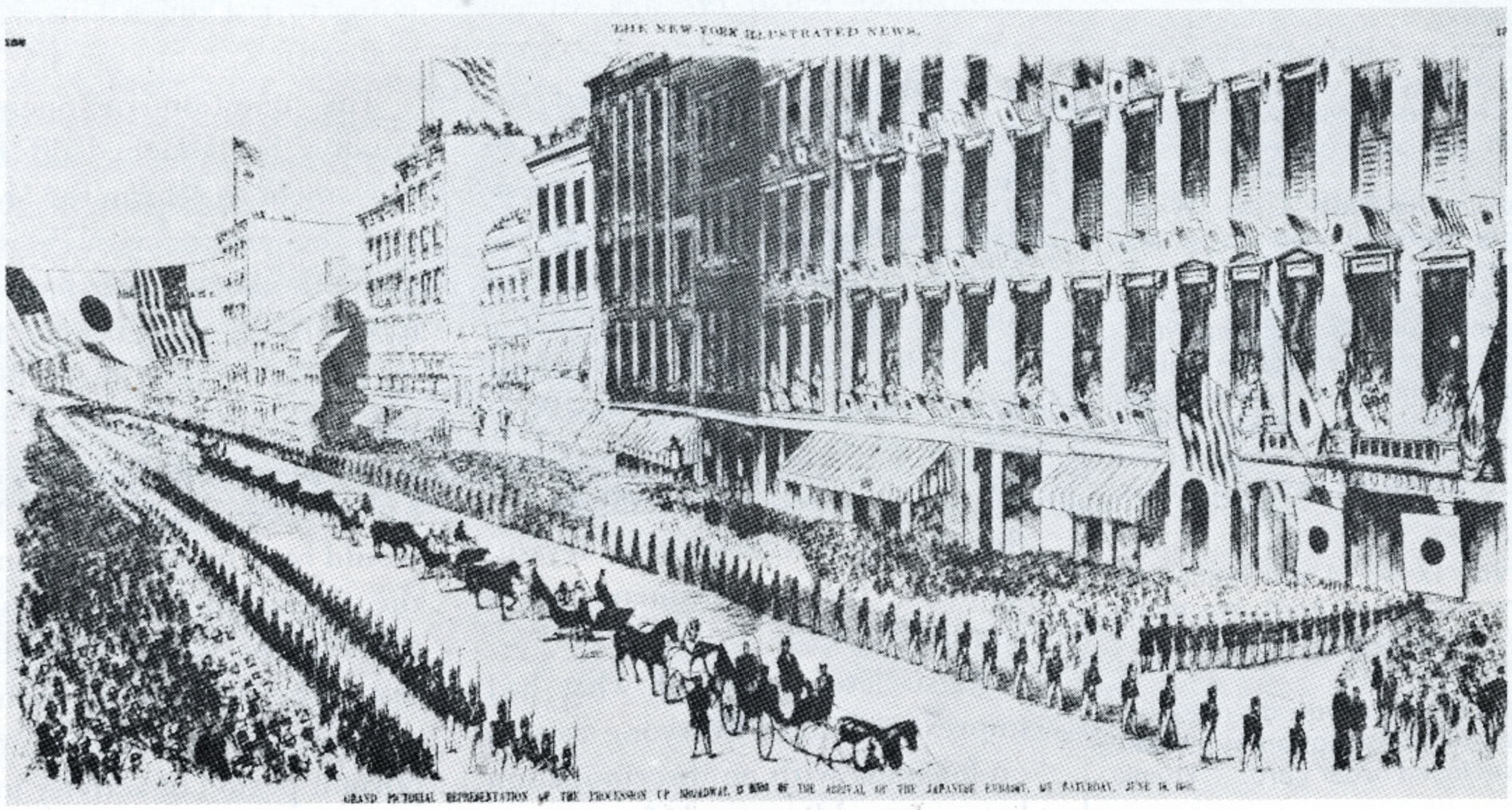
Lt. John M. Brooke, captain of the survey ship that had gone down, urged the Admiral to assign each Japanese sailor and officer to the most suitable post, but the Admiral shuddered at the notion of giving men jobs corresponding with their abilities. If capable men of lower rank were given more important posts than incompetent officials of high rank on board ship, what would happen to the social order back on dry land?

The American sailors found the stupidity of this feudal order ridiculous but for Katsu it was insufferable. Repelled by the obsession the Admiral and his whole entourage showed with empty forms, Katsu often simply retired to his cabin and when the Admiral came to ask him what to do next said, "Do as you like."

Katsu Kaishū was a man with an instinct for the way to meet the changes in a revolutionary age.

Things got so bad that once smack in the middle of the Pacific Ocean he hollered to one of his sailors, "Put down a boat, I'm

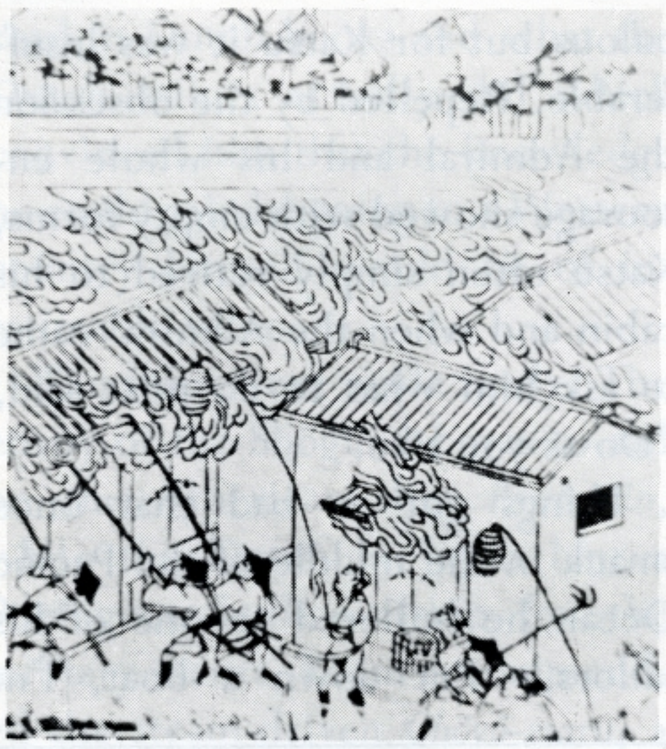
The first embassy from Japan to the United States parades down Broadway on April 28, 1860. (New York Illustrated, *July 7, 1860)*



Coming Up in the Next Issue:

People: Grand Chef to the Emperor for 58 Years

"The Emperor likes pike very much. But before it is served I have to very carefully remove all the viscera and bones with a pair of pincers and so I am sorry to say that I have never been able to present His Imperial Majesty with the real taste of pike." Now retiring after 58 years as the Japanese Emperor's Grand Chef, Akiyama Tokuzo relates some of his experiences and reveals the tastes of the Imperial Family, tastes he has prepared himself through years of service.



Culture: The Fire Fighters

"Fires and fights are the flowers of Edo." The people of Edo were fond of expressing near pride in the famous, large and frequent Edo fires. And the real pride of Edo was the firemen themselves with their dashing dress and vital style of living.

Economics and Daily Life: Western Individualism and Japanese "Groupism"

In direct contrast with the West, Japanese groupism forms an important basis for Japanese economic activity. Industrial sociologist Prof. Hazama Hiroshi looks at some of the patterns of group activity in Japanese business.

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going home!"

In the face of all the setbacks, though, Katsu's men put their backs to it and followed his orders with complete thoroughness while the American soldiers pitched in; and the *Kanrin-maru* pulled safely into San Francisco Bay on March 17th, after 43 days at sea.

The procession of exotically attired Japanese samurai attracted quite a turnout at San Francisco. The *Kanrin-maru* was the first Japanese vessel ever to visit the US and the first ship manned by a Japanese crew to go to a Western country since Japan had been officially closed.

Katsu discovered something in America that all the reading and study he had ever done had never shown him—the American social system. Here was a land where blood lines and family trees mattered little; the men who achieved success in this society did so through their own efforts and abilities.

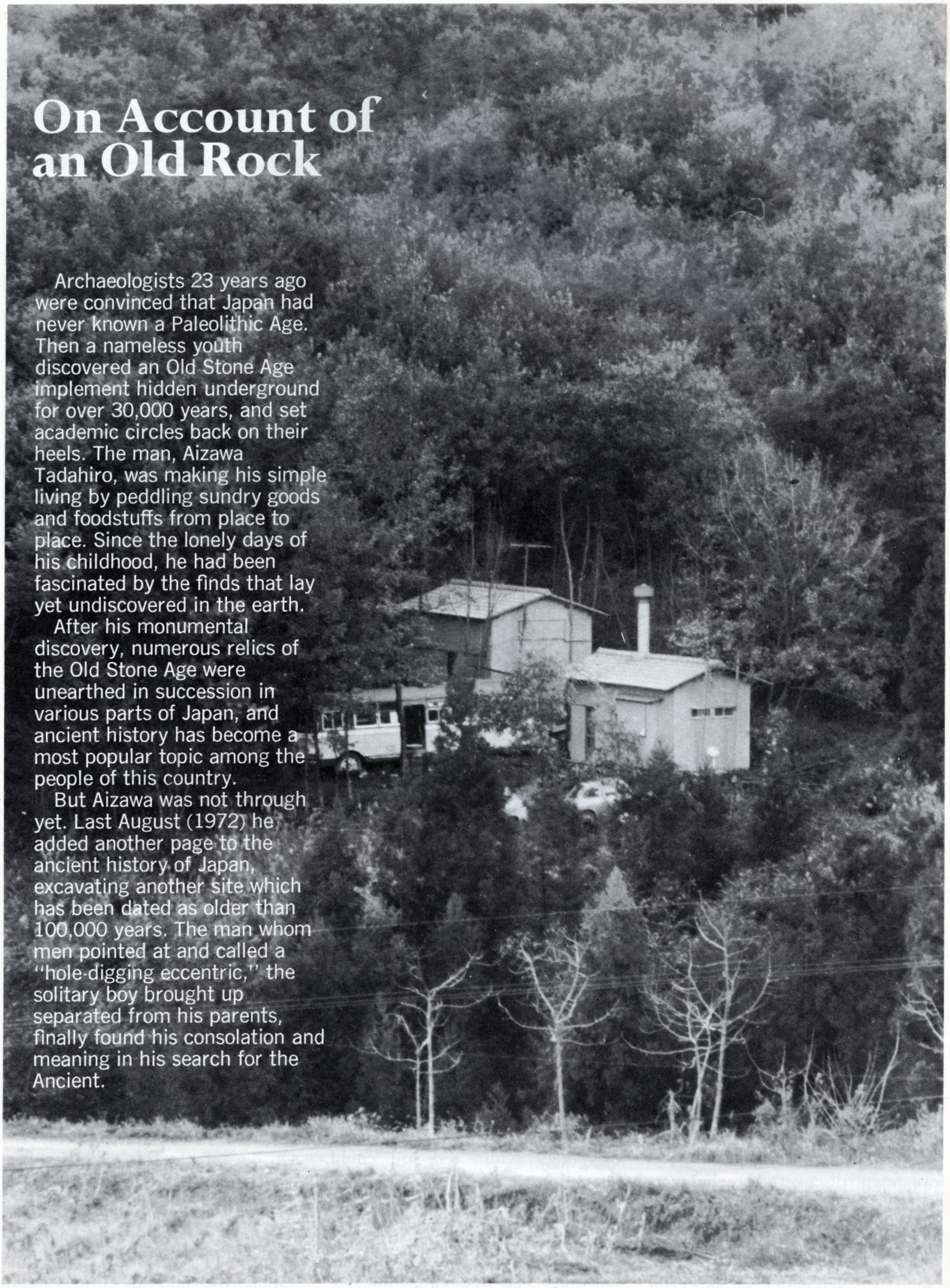
This discovery was a real eye-opener for Katsu. The famous educator who played such an important part in the Meiji Enlightenment and who founded Keiō University, Fukuzawa Yukichi, accompanied Katsu on this voyage and widened his eyes in the same way. When Fukuzawa asked the Americans what had happened to the descendants of the first President George Washington and nobody knew, he could hardly believe his ears. He had known from the books he had read that America was a democracy and the President served for only four years, but Washington, like the establisher of the Tokugawa Shōgunate Ieyasu, founded the government of a country!

Katsu later spoke of what had impressed him: "Everyone carries on business with no discrimination between soldiers and farmers or craftsmen and merchants. Officials engage in mercantile activities just like common citizens; if they have accumulated enough wealth they set up their children in business *even while they are still in office.* Citizens (officials) with insufficient funds may merge their resources and set up one or two stores, sharing the profits among them. Moreover, when they retire from their posts, officials may enter any field they desire, even the highest administrators. The officials of city bureaus have their own enterprises, maintaining a chain of stores, building huge ships, trading with foreign countries. What they can do rests on how much or little wealth they have (and not on their rank)—all in all totally different from officials in our own country."

When Katsu returned to Japan after about two months in America, he found that radical changes had taken place in that short time. Rōjū Ii Naosuke, the most powerful official in the Shōgunate, who had signed the treaty of commerce with America and forcefully silenced an active opposition, had been cut down by isolationist extremists near the Sakurada Mon Gate to Edo Castle. "This Shōgunate is not going to last much longer," Katsu realized.

The question of opening the country had touched off a radical movement to reform the Shōgunate and the entire country was in a turmoil. Katsu had been at the forefront of the changes that led up to this moment, from his Western studies to practice in Nagasaki to the mission to America. But that had all been preparation. Now he would have to take the helm, judge the course objectively and steer the government safely through rough seas. The tempest of history was sweeping him up and the most important period of activity in his life was just beginning. 園

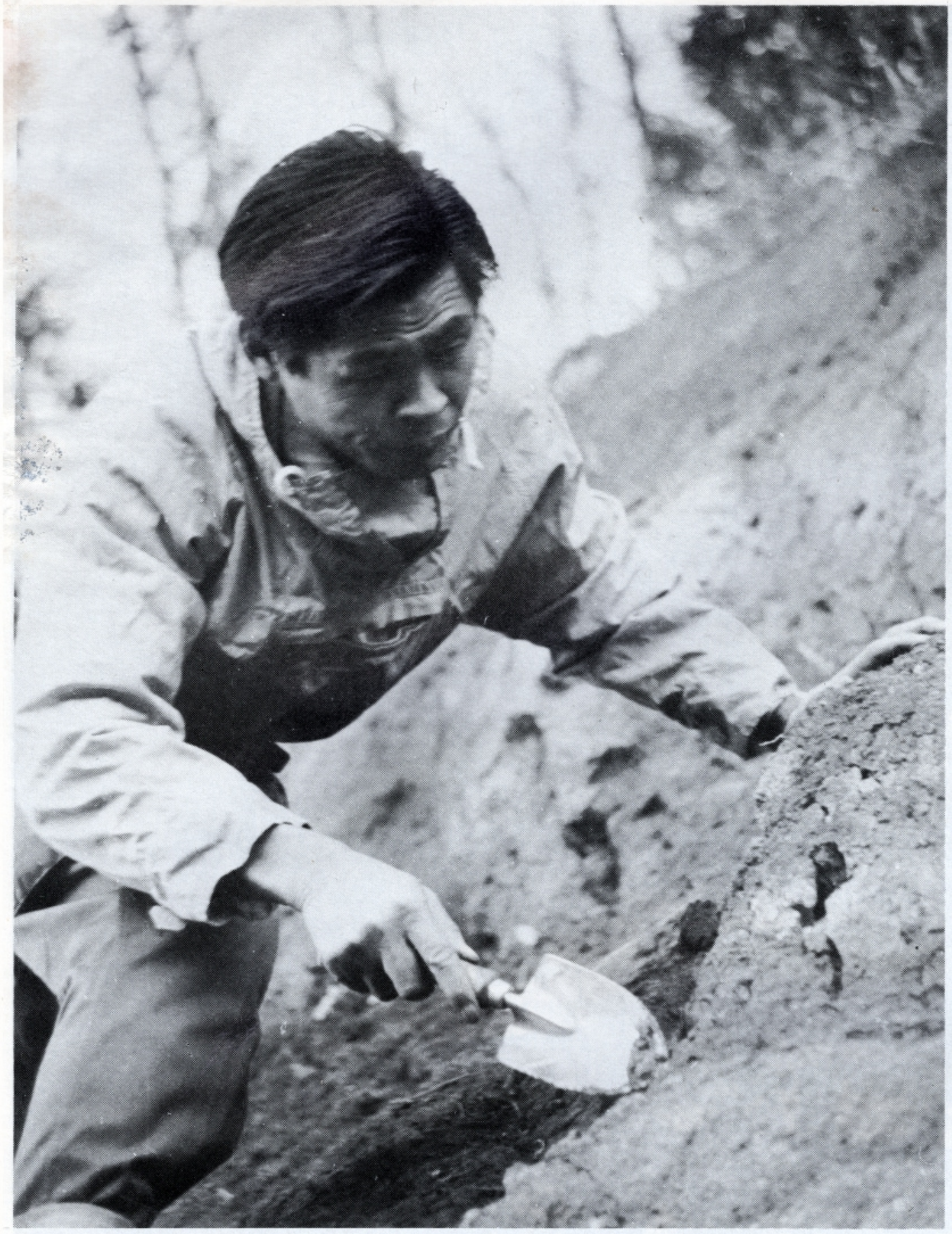
On Account of an Old Rock



Archaeologists 23 years ago were convinced that Japan had never known a Paleolithic Age. Then a nameless youth discovered an Old Stone Age implement hidden underground for over 30,000 years, and set academic circles back on their heels. The man, Aizawa Tadahiro, was making his simple living by peddling sundry goods and foodstuffs from place to place. Since the lonely days of his childhood, he had been fascinated by the finds that lay yet undiscovered in the earth.

After his monumental discovery, numerous relics of the Old Stone Age were unearthed in succession in various parts of Japan, and ancient history has become a most popular topic among the people of this country.

But Aizawa was not through yet. Last August (1972) he added another page to the ancient history of Japan, excavating another site which has been dated as older than 100,000 years. The man whom men pointed at and called a "hole-digging eccentric," the solitary boy brought up separated from his parents, finally found his consolation and meaning in his search for the Ancient.



Aizawa perseveres in excavation of a site over 100,000 years old. He has already twice come up with discoveries that necessitated the rewriting of Japanese prehistory.

It is said that the first human kind appeared on this earth at the dawn of the Diluvial Age (1,000,000–20,000 BC.). Mankind is identified as a maker of tools. Human culture doubtlessly started with the making of tools to meet men's primitive needs, and so the oldest known implements are mostly stone.

The extremely long period before men discovered techniques of polishing, when tools could only be formed by pounding and scraping, is termed the Paleolithic Age. Before Aizawa's discovery, it was generally assumed that the Paleolithic Age did not exist in Japan. The archaeologists of the time accepted the theory that the Neolithic Age, characterized by the use of polished stone implements and earthenware, comprised the beginning of the Japanese culture.

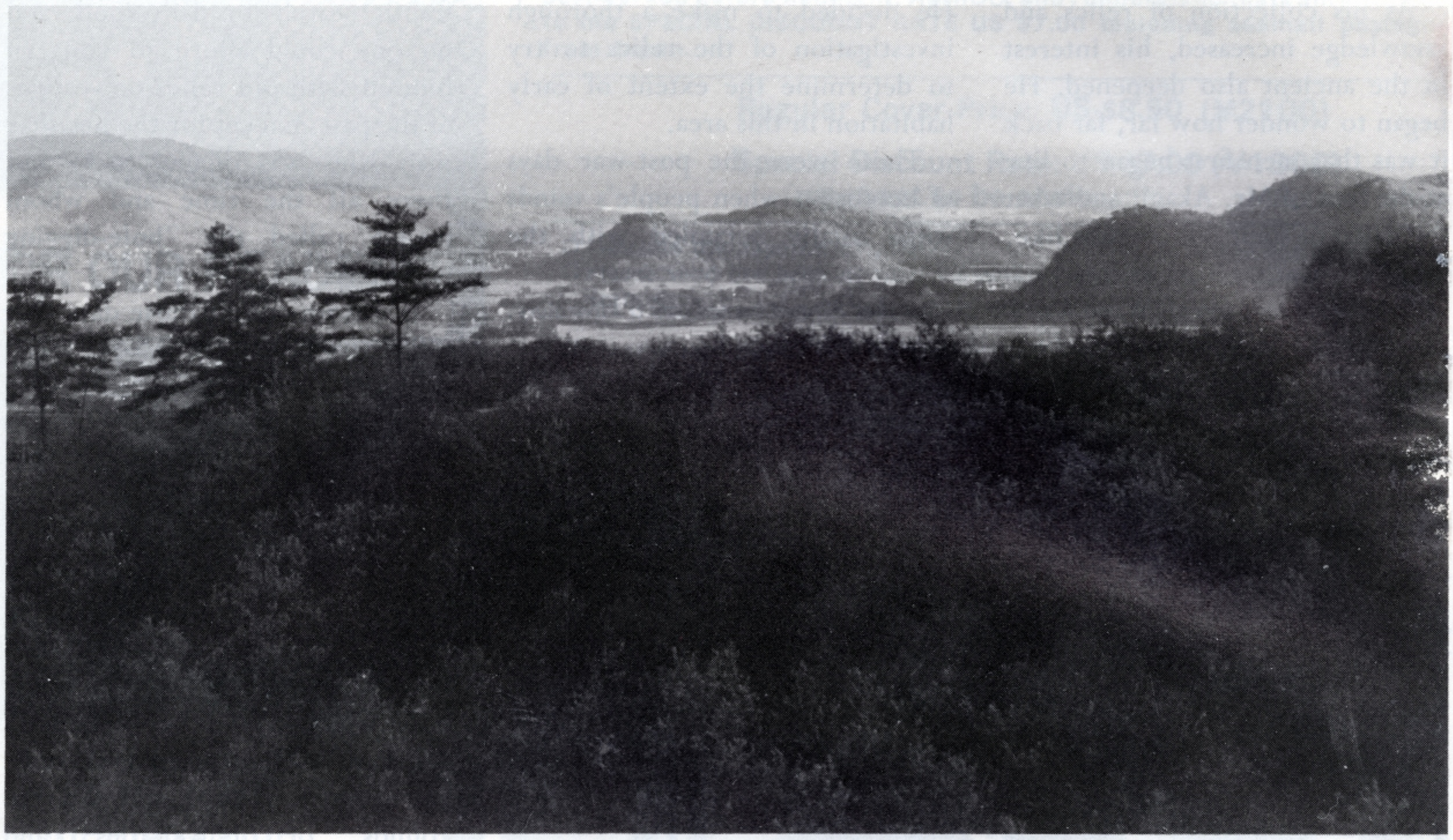
This theory was based on the supposition that the loamy or extremely acidic red soil could not contain any cultural vestiges. Geologists thought that during the age represented by the red stratum, volcanic activity had been so severe that neither people nor animals could possibly survive the daily rain of fire and ashes. As soon as archaeologists hit red soil under the black therefore, they abandoned their excavations.

It was 23 years ago that a 23-year-old peddler overturned this established theory when he discovered a paleolithic implement which was not supposed to be discoverable in Japan. Not only did this startling find unequivocably endow Japan with a Paleolithic Age, it further suggested some new facts about the formation of the islands of Japan, and the origin of the race.

It was an autumn evening in 1949. The young peddler Aizawa was working the bicycle pedals with his tired feet as he came by a cliff in a region called Iwajuku at the foot of Mt. Akagi in Gunma Prefecture. There in the red soil of the cliff, he saw something sparkling in the evening sun. Taking it in hand, he discovered it to be a shining black stone implement with the sides scraped into a razor-sharp cutting edge. The obsidian implement argued the existence of the Old Stone Age irrefutably. That Aizawa became the discoverer of this important implement, however, was not a mere coincidence.

When his parents became divorced, the young boy was separated from father and mother, brothers and sisters and brought up in a temple in Kamakura. He found his only friend in an old stone ax he picked up in a construction yard at the back of the temple.

Later he was sent to a footwear shop to serve as an apprentice. On one of his days off he took a trip to the Tōkyō National Museum. What he saw there clutched his interest and never let go throughout his whole lifetime. Lining the long cases in careful



Aizawa made the important discovery while bicycling past Iwajuku (the hill in the center) on the way home from the day's peddling.

rows were the same kind of stone ax as he had at home. From these the lives of people in ancient times could be reconstructed; they had a whole important story to tell!

Fascination turned to obsession and he visited the museum as often as he could manage to take time out of the busy work at the shop, while reading books and studying archaeology on his own. To imgine how men of the deep past must have lived! The boy's mind took great pleasure in its imaginary journeys to the ancient world.

"We are apt to forget that the culture we live in is a product made by men, by us, taking it for granted as something inborn in the society, or sometimes feeling that the culture around is choking our free breath. My interest in this field is not necessarily in the objects I find, but rather in my human associations with them. Academic archaeologists will discuss academic sides of the objects,

When Aizawa discovered these paleolithic tools he upset the established archaeological theory which held that Japan had never had a Paleolithic Age.

which is their job. But I assume that my job is to fringe them with human interest." Aizawa seems to be telling us that he found his family in the family of prehistoric man.

Then came the war, and he was taken away to serve for two years. After repatriation, he came to live in Kiryū City in Gunma Prefecture, where he had to work hard to make his living as a peddler. He chose to peddle rather than return to the shop to work in order to enable himself to pursue his archaeological studies not just through books but by using his own eyes and feet. As he travelled from village to village, he came upon land freshly opened up by reclamation for farming, baring stone implements, bits of earthenware and other relics, so numerous that in his imagination he could see generations and generations of mankind piling the traces of their daily lives over the vast area spreading at the foot of Mt. Akagi.

He wandered about peddling and picking up relics all day long, and when he laid his tired body in bed at night, there came to his ears silent whispers from the pieces he had collected.

As his collection of relics and knowledge increased, his interest in the ancient also deepened. He began to wonder how far, far back it was that men first began to live at the foot of Mr. Akagi, and what the dawn of their culture was like. He decided to make a thorough investigation of the relics to try to determine the extent of early habitation in this area.

Those were the post-war days of confusion when people's minds were totally occupied with the frantic search for daily food, and no one could afford to concern himself with old relics or vestiges of the past. Except for the peculiar man who was digging here and there all the time and whom people called the "hole-digging eccentric."

Old tools and remnants of the past litter the old bus that Aizawa turned into a laboratory. He hopes to build an archaeological research center on this site.

It was on one of those days that he unearthed the obsidian implement. Immediately he rushed home to compare it with all the other pieces he had collected; but it was different from any of them. "Paleolithic?" He wondered for a second, but tossed the idea from him. "No, it couldn't possibly be." But he was convinced that the tool represented something very valuable and he wished to get some authorities to look at it. He went to Tōkyō and did the rounds of universities and specialists.

At first nobody paid any attention to him. Once he was decried as a fraud. But at last Professor Sugihara Sōsuke of Meiji University, an authority on the ancient history of Japan, offered to undertake extensive excavation. As implement after implement of unpolished stone was brought to light, the Paleolithic Age in Japan became an undeniable fact.

The ripples cast by one stone implement amplified beyond expectations. The fact that the Paleolithic implement was there, unearthed, was a claim for revision of the ancient history of Japan. Furthermore, when it was later found that examples of the same kind of implement had already been found on the Asian Continent, Aizawa's implement became a key to the formation of the islands and the origins of the people. Former research had gone so far as to suggest that the islands of Japan were once connected with the Continent, but when they became separated remained a mystery.

But the Paleolithic implements proved that at least 30,000 years ago the islands were somehow linked with the Continent. The cliff of red soil where the implement was discovered was immediately named the Iwajuku Site. As academic circles became increasingly aware of it, specialists and then the general public evidenced a noisy excitement.

Aizawa, the man who had started the fuss, however, faced a disappointment. Led into the path of archaeology by a humanistic interest, he who had expected the research to give even greater fuel for his imagination discovered that humanity at best comprised a secondary element in science. Nostalgia has no real place in scientific study.

And so he continues to maintain a deep-rooted distrust for science: "There are good things in the place where ancient people lived. I am very happy to live here, watching the seasons change, imagining how our ancestors lived. I feel sorry for the university professors who excavate only during summer holidays and go back to write their research reports."

Aizawa goes on to say, Excavation work is like the job of a detective. If a detective goes after a case using his own subjective ideas, he runs the risk of producing a criminal of his own making. So he has to rely entirely upon the traces of the crime. In excavation also, the smallest conclusion must be based on a great volume of data. The difference between the two is that the 'criminals' we deal with never confess anything. Conclusions are based on the reports we make." His are the words of an experienced researcher who works in the field.

Aizawa Tadahiro has won the enthusiastic support of the villagers for the way he combines a deep attachment to their land with his research. He is the distinguished "favorite son" who made the name of their anonymous village of silkworm raisers famous throughout the whole country. The village now has a fine paved road which runs far into the mountains, far too handsome for a settlement of this size. The village itself provided the road to make his expeditions to the mountains easier. He now receives contributions from villagers for excavations and heads the village office historical archives, a bureau he administers as he wishes. He has married, has children, and leads the happy family life of which he so long dreamed.

Thus enjoying the good will of the people around him, Aizawa can now devote full time to archaeological excavation. Most recent days found him scouring the mountains, speculating on the possibility of a site even older than Iwajuku with its 30,000 years. His eye fell on a spot called Natsuido, six kilometers north of Iwajuku.

The geographical and geological characteristics of the location caught his attention and made him think that the land might harbor something important. A man just happened to be trying to sell a piece of the forest there, and Aizawa received a ¥10 million loan from a bank to purchase the land covering 12,000 square meters. He built his library on it, setting up an old used bus for a study room, and named the arrangement Akagi Anthropological Research Center. He is of course obliged to live away from his family to continue his work here.

His intuition proved once again correct. In the summer of 1971, his shovel laid bare pits of ancient living quarters and more stone implements in a stratum at Natsuido which appears to be over 100,000 years old. This site is now getting wide attention among archaeological specialists. Research at Natsuido should continue for another five or ten years, and the results may radically revise thinking on the ancient history of Japan yet again.

The village archaeologist found himself with another job when he was invited to lecture at Utsunomiya University. His lectures are not strictly academic. He talks in his own way of his experiences in excavations, adding human interest to the science of the past. Supported by real and important experiences, his talks are particularly persuasive, and his students look forward to their classes.

Aizawa has a vision, and there is little doubt but that he will realize it. He wants to build a library housing data on ancient Japan on his site, where he can display the over 200,000 relics he has collected and over 20,000 photographs in the hope that visitors will be able to catch a glimpse of life in the ancient past and gain some feeling for the men of that time. He wants to bring the Ancient back to life for others as it lives for himself.

In the old used bus where the cold and dry winds of this region blows in some fallen autumn leaves which cluster at his feet, Aizawa talks endlessly of his ardent dreams. On the back of the namecard he presented, he has listed over ten titles. Part-time lecturer at Gunma Prefectural Youth Hostel, Lecturer to the Social Education Group of Gunma Prefecture, Member of the Committee for Cultural Assets of Gunma Prefecture and so on and so forth.

A small piece of stone undoubtely changed the entire course of one man's life. 東

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Teriyaki Pork

You DO NOT have to use pork for teriyaki; you can marinate and fry poultry or white fish in the same way and they will be every bit as good. The trick is in frying it just right for the meat you are using, so that the taste of the marinade permeates the meat but does not overwhelm the meat flavor. The chives help subdue the strong fatty smell of the pork.

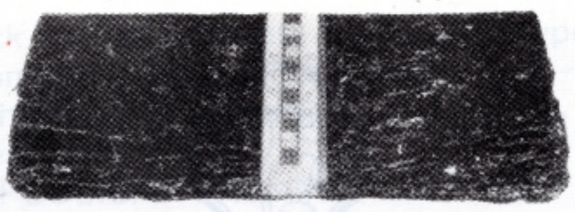
Ingredients (Serves Four):

4 thick slices of pork (from the flank, about a quarter pound apiece)
5 tbsp. diced chives
msg
3 tbsp saké
4 tbsp soy sauce
1½ tsp mirin (very thick, sweet saké) or enough sugar to sweeten and 1 tsp saké
nori if you have it
salad oil

To Prepare:

1. Remove any sinews from the meat and pound lightly with flat edge of kitchen knife.
2. Dice chives thinly cutting from the bottom until you have 5 tablespoons.
3. Mix saké, soy sauce and mirin or sugar in a bowl and add 1 tablespoon of the diced chives. Marinate pork for five minutes.
4. Heat oil in frying pan, then take it off the heat for a moment to let it cool a bit. Brown the marinated meat over high heat then turn down to medium and fry for about 7 minutes. Add remaining marinade sauce and turn up high again, turning over the meat so that it gains an equal golden color on both sides. When the sauce has seeped in thoroughly (but before the meat dries) take the meat out and put it on serving plates.
5. Top with chives, add finely cut nori and serve. 東

NORI



Nori is a kind of seaweed which is dried and pressed to form paper-thin leaves. It is often cultivated for food on nets and bamboo traps by a special Japanese method. Dark purple in color, nori has a fine sheen and adds a delicate flavor (not fishy as you might assume) to all kinds of dishes. Because it picks up moisture readily from the air it is best to pass the leaves lightly over a flame before using. Nori can be rolled around rice, put in rice dishes, salted and fried in sesame seed oil, or eaten just as it is with a little soy sauce.

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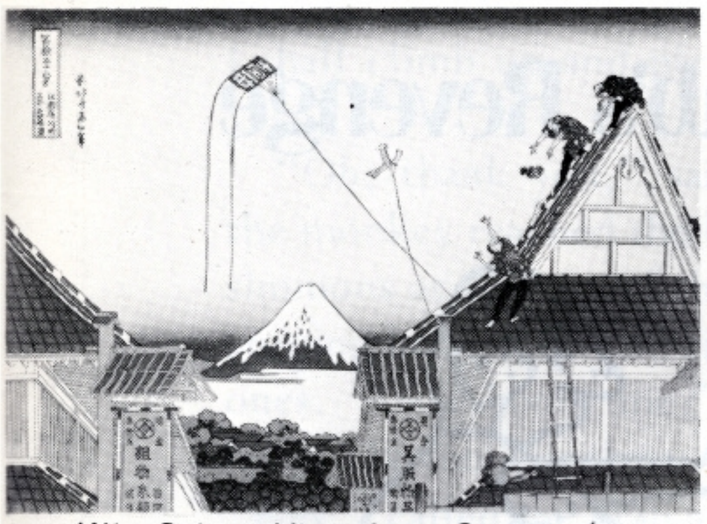
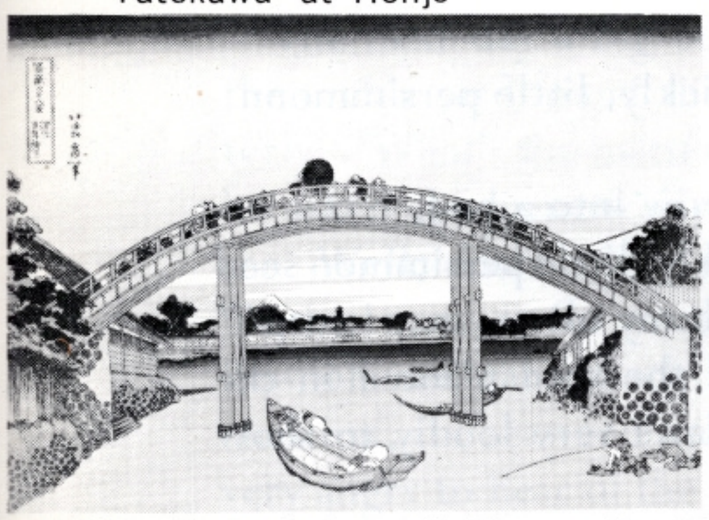
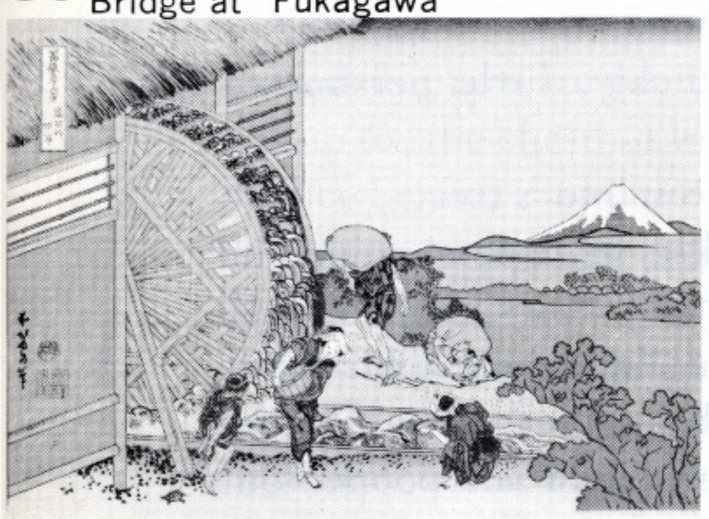


S1 Kite-flying: View from Surugacho in Edo

S2 The Lumberyards: View from Tatekawa at Honjo



S3 View through beneath Mannen-bashi Bridge at Fukagawa



S4 View from the Mill at Onden

S5 Ferry Boats and Fishing Boats: View from Tsukudajima in Musashi

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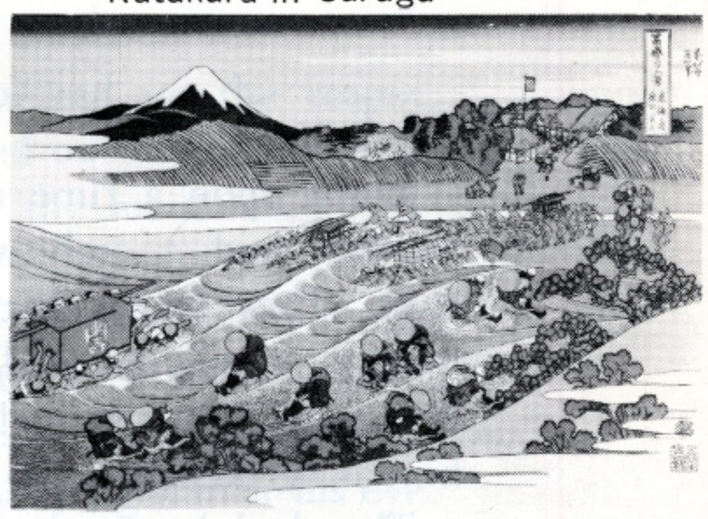
S6 Flying Cranes: View from Umesawa in Sagami

S7 Gathering Tea Leaves: View from Katakura in Suruga



S8 Fording the River at Kanaya on the Tokaido Highway

S9 Stopping for a Rest and the View from Yoshida on the Tokaido Highway

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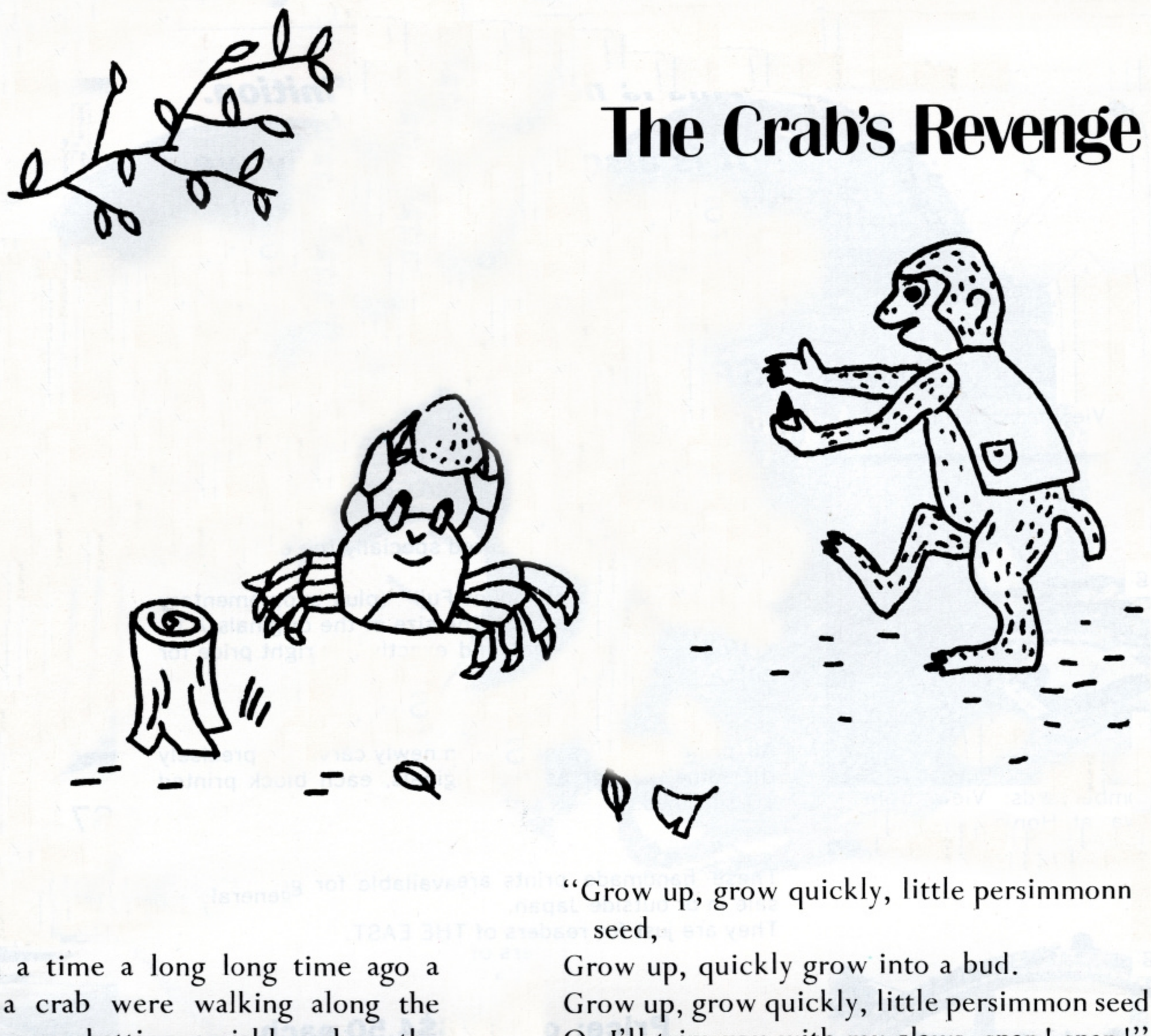
The Crab's Revenge



Once upon a time a long long time ago a monkey and a crab were walking along the road. They were chatting amiably when the monkey almost tripped over a nice fat persimmon seed. "How lucky!" the crab congratulated him as he picked it up.

They hadn't got much further when the crab almost bumped into a plump and luscious rice ball. He lifted it carefully in his pincers and looked at it happily, too happily to see how hungrily the monkey was looking at the same rice ball. "You know what," said the monkey as if he could care less about rice balls but cared a very great deal about his friend the crab, "if you eat that up you won't have anything left, but if you plant this seed it will grow into a big tree just chock-full of persimmons. Since you're my pal I'd be willing to trade."

The crab had barely time to think about an answer before the rice ball was gobbled entirely up and the monkey was licking his fingers.

The crab carried the seed home (what else could he do?) and planted it in his garden. As he watered it he sang,

"Grow up, grow quickly, little persimmonn seed,
Grow up, quickly grow into a bud.
Grow up, grow quickly, little persimmon seed
Grow up, grow quickly, little persimmon seed
Or I'll trim you with my claws, snap! snap!"
and he walked around the seed planted in the ground snapping his claws very loudly to show that he meant it.

The next day a cute little bud had already peeked through the ground.

"Grow up, grow quickly, little persimmon bud
Grow up, quickly grow into a tree.
Grow up, grow quickly, little persimmon bud
Or I'll trim you with my claws, snap! snap!"
The crab sang his song again and did a fair dance to the clacking of his claws. Well, almost before his eyes the tree grew and grew and popped out into dozens and dozens of ripe orange persimmons. As the crab was chuckling over his lovely fruits, who should come along but the monkey.

The monkey's eyes grew big at the sight of the tree. In his best doing-a-favor-for-a-friend voice he said, "You can't climb, friend crab, but I can.

I shall climb up and pick your persimmons for you."

"Oh, thank you," said the crab. But when the monkey reached the biggest and juiciest persimmons at the top of the tree he just sat there gorging himself on the ripest plumpest sweetest ones. "How about me?" the crab called wistfully. The monkey threw down some little fruits. "Hey," called the crab a bit louder, "won't you give me some sweet ones, these are all so sour my mouth wants to turn inside out."

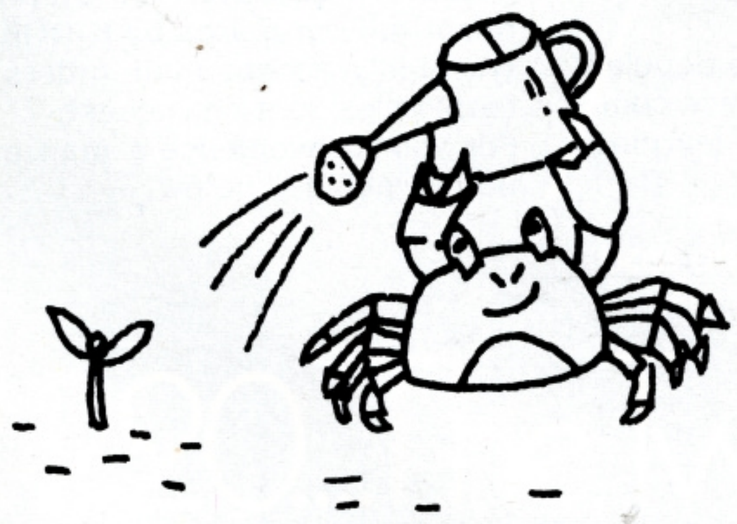
At that the monkey looked for the largest hardest persimmon on the tree and hurled it down at the crab with all his might. "Ow! ow! That hurts!" screamed the crab but it only rained more hard persimmons. He barely managed to drag himself home.

* * * * * *

The next day a big bumblebee flying around the crab's yard found the crab's son crying bitterly. "What's the matter today, little crabbie?" he asked sympathetically. Crabbie told him. "I see. Well, don't cry, we'll all get together and fix that monkey for once and for all." The bee flew off and came back with their friends, the chestnut, the seaweed and the mortar, who were very angry to hear of the monkey's nasty pranks. They all set out together for the monkey's house.

The monkey was not at home. So they hid and waited for him to get back from whatever he was up to, the chestnut in the ashes in the hearth, the bee behind the water bucket, the seaweed by the entrance and the mortar on the roof above the door.

Back home came the monkey, whistling cheerfully after some successful shenanigans. "Boy, am I dry! Think I'll make some tea," and he sat



before the hearth and picked up the teapot. Pong! The chestnut leaped out of the hot ashes and landed full force on the monkey's cheek. "Yi! That burns!"

Holding his sore cheek the monkey ran to the kitchen to draw some water to soothe the pain. He lifted the bucket and out buzzed the bee. Sssuut! He stung the monkey right over his eye. "Aii! That stings!" wailed the monkey and ran for the door. His foot slipped on the slippery seaweed and down he went kerplunk! on the porch. Bonk! the mortar tumbled down from over the door and caught him square on the noggin. He could not move.

"Come on little crabbie, now's your chance!" they called. Up came crabbie. "Put your claws to his throat and squeeze; this is one moneky that'll do no more mischief."

"Oh, no," sobbed the monkey most pitifully. "Have a heart, be kind, give a monkey a break! I swear I'll never do a bad thing again all my life, only spare me!" Being very forgiving, they forgave him after he promised to go right away to apologize to crabbie's father.

Maybe he *was* good after that. We'll never know.

(S.A.R.)

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